A VISION OF BALAAMS ASSE.

VVHEREIN HEE

did perfectly see the present estate of the Church of ROME.

Written by PETER HAY *Gentleman* of North-Britaine, for the reformation of his Countrymen.

SPECIALLY OF THAT TRVLY Noble and sincere Lord, FRANCIS *Earle* of ERROL, Lord HAY, and great Constable of SCOTLAND.

Ioan: 8. 32.

The truth shall make you free.

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VISION OF BALLADS

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TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT *MAIESTIE.*



OSt Gracious and most sacred Soueraigne, It is not without diuers reasons, that I haue not boldly made a Dedication to your Maiestie, of this Treatise put foorth for the good of your Maieties subiects, and hauing so much neede to be strongly armed, now, while as (like vnto a weake Barke vpon a raging sea) it entereth on the Theater of the World, to speake of the peace and vnion of the holy Sanctuary, amidst so many furious Giants of contradiction as are now in the Church of God: This heauenly voice of Christian harmony hath neuer bin heard, but followed with a malignant *Echo* of proud and vehement Spirits, *qui pascuntur syllogismo sicut boues fœno*, who delight to feed vpon Disputes as Oxen

on hay, in such a desperate Paroxisme, that they will not lose the reputation of one crooked syllogisme for the peace of whole Christendome, yet the world doth neuer want some *Phœnix*, who is content to burne her earthly fame to ashes, in that pure fire of Christian loue, to bring foorth some seedes of peace; So that I do expect no other, but to heare my cries contumeliously re-echoed, that my conceptions of the reconciliation of Rome shal be esteemed not only Paradoxall but smelling of atheisme, and that my proiects for perfect vnitie in matter of Ecclesiasticall policie and ceremonies within your Maiesties kingdomes, shalbe said to be a craftie and cunning preparation for superstition to re-enter into the Church, of which vnchristian oblatration, the first *alarmes* haue been sounded in my eares so hardly, while my Copie was newly deliuered to the presse, that I would haue retired it if I had bin one of those, who liue in the aire of popular applause, as in their naturall element, & who (like to *Narcissus*) will rather die for loue of their owne image, then suffer one blow for so noble a common cause. But when I consider how many odious calumnies our Sauiour and his Apostles did suffer, for plantation of this peace of the Gospell, I hold it a mans trueſt commendation and comfort, if for the sake of the same he may say with S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians, that he fought with beasts in the maner of men*. Seldome is it indeed that goodnes is made the scope of our actions, and in this corrupt age, this vpright vertue of pacification hath neuer bin seen vpon the stage, but waited with an infortu-

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nate *Genius*, wee may witnesse those sweete ingines, of *Cassander*, of *Erasme*, of *Iunius*, of *Pareus*, of *Causabone*, and other Pacificators: And certainely I thinke it is a sillie vertue, that for so braue an end, cannot in the conscience of an honest deed, with a sterne countenance out-face a guiltie Calumniator, for such a Treatise as this can neuer be altogether fruitlesse, if it were but to giue aire enough for discouering and venting of malicious humors that lurke in ill affected men. And howsoeuer the matter shall worke, two things did mightily encourage me, first knowing that vnder the godly and gracious Reigne of your Maiestie, in whose eares Moderation and Wisedome do constantly dwell, an *Aristides* will be permitted to breath freely without feare of *Ostracisme* or banishment: Next, the priuate testimonies which I haue had of the presence of Gods holy Spirit, to informe and to confirme my conscience, whiles I did labour about these, do giue me great hope that they shall haue sufficient auctoritie with good men, to purge me from these vglie and odious aspersions. And therefore, for the first I did rather chuse to betake my selfe to the candor and nobility of my cause, & to the patience of those benigne and blessed Spirits, who haue mooued before me this diuine argument, *de amabili Ecclesia concordia*, then presumptuously to thrust in your Maiesties bosome my hazardous endeauours, the chiefest protection whereof must be, to be acceptable of God, whiles they are vngracious to men. Alurements to Chatholike pacification, Inducements to absolute

vnitie within the Church of this Ile, Defence of the Orthodoxall policy of the Church gouernment, Apologie of the moſt lawfull authoritie of my ſoueraigne Prince, Perſwaſions to ſo worthy and ſo deare a Nobleman, to vendicate himſelfe from the bondage of Idolatry, and ſuch like ſacred theames as be treated heere, are able to preſerue my reputation from blemiſh or ſuſpition, vnleſſe that Archiecalumniator the Ieſuite doe edge his bloody pen againſt me, who ſeeing hee doth not ſpare to bend his murthering tongue againſt your Maieſtie, who is the Mirror and Miracle of the world, his malediction or malſcription can procure nothing but glory to ſuch as I am. The ſecond reaſon of my non dedication to your Maieſty is, that, although, it be *ingens materia, ſuperba inſcriptio*, a moſt ſtately and glorious ſubiect, to write of Chriſtian harmony, yet it commeth in my hands, as an excellent Lute to vnskilfull fingers, in which reſpect I knew my paines to be vnworthy of your Maieſty, as alſo by reaſon of my baſe and humble ſtile, which flieth low, *inter aues paluſtres*, and is not compoſed of thoſe Aquiline penns, which can ſoare neer vnto the Sunne. Thirdly, I did not wiſh that any peintured dedication to your Maieſty ſhould hide the true face of my labours, and make that to be eſteemed mercenary which is moſt ſincere. Fourthly, the whole treatiſe it ſelfe is no other then a ſacrifice of my deuotion to your Maieſties ſeruice, conſiſting of the moſt cleane and coſtly peeces, that I could chuſe to offer, all tending to perſwade your Maieſties people, that the proſperity of the Church and

and the felicity of this kingdome haue no sure fundament now, but such a firme coniunction, as doth reserue, no sparkle, color, nor pretext of seperation hereafter. If that Great King out of the conscience of his Tyrannie and proud ambition did say in his time, that he was none of his, who did not fauour the Monarch asmuch as *Alexander*, how much more need haue Princes now adaies, that we should all insinuate, vrge, write, preach and crie, that he is not an vpright Subiect, who doth not loue both the Royall person and the Royall Maiestie, in these dangerous times; while as a spirituall ambition hath so poysoned the soules of men by this *Chymique* Theologie of the Iesuite, who presumeth, as it were to Metamorphose nature, and superinduce a new face vpon the World, spiritualising the grounds of State, and temporalising the condition of Religion, making Popes absolute ouer Monarches, and vsing Kings like to the Shepheards dogs, who are beaten and chased away, when they are not vigilant and barking to his pleasure; that it is to be feared, lest in time (if the oppositions were wanting which are made by your Maiesty) the iudgements of men should become *Pyrrhonicall* and *Problematicall*, as if there were no truth in things but all were indifferent, as if it should be as easie for them, hauing once subiugat the temporall power to the spirituall, to refine S. *Peter* and by a new Alembication to make him Monarchall Priest and Monarchall Prince ouer the whole vniuerse: And seeing this discourse containeth a discouerie of those abominable maximes, which Hell it selfe

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hath vomited to prepare the ſpirits of men to ſhake off the diuine yoke chiefly of your Maieſty, Maximes (alas for pity) whereof when we conſider the deplorable euents, that partly haue come to paſſe, and partly haue been ſhot at, what *Clements*, what *Chaſtels*, what *Rauilliacks*, what pouder Traitors, they can neuer be ſufficiently charactered, but with teares of blood: Theſe I hope will ſuffice without any Dedicatory interceſſion to make your Maieſties eyes propitious and fauourable ouer my faithfull ſacrifice of peace and vnity, that none of theſe Rauenous foules ſhall haue any power to ſpoile it, or to trouble my oblation; And laſtly ſince by your Maieſties Gracious permiſſion, I am to publiſh theſe, for a triall, of what true Chriſtianity and true wiſedome is in the hearts of your Maieſties Subiects, I haue not neither ſent them abroad, but preſidiat with the fauours of that worthy and vertuous Prelate whom your Maieſtie hath worthily preferred to be the chiefeſt *Speculator* and Pilate in the ſhippe of the Church. God grant in his mercy, that they may teach your Maieſties people, to draw their light from no other Sunne but from your Maieſtie, and that they haue nothing before their eyes, but Gods true worſhip, the glory of this great and fortunate Ile, the conſeruation of your Maieſties perſon and crowne, and the ſtability of your moſt Royall ſucceſſion.

Your Maieſties moſt humble, moſt faithfull,

and moſt affectionate Subiect and Seruant

PETER HAY.

TO THE RIGHT Reuerend Father in God, and honourable Lord GEORGE ABBOTS Lord Archbiſhop of Canterburie his Grace, Primate and Metropolitane of all England, and one of his MAIESTIES moſt Honorable Priuy COVNSEL.

MY very Reuerend Father, and Honourable Lord, when on the one ſide I doe looke vpon the ſplendor of this golden Age, wherein our glorious Kingdom of Great Brittaine *doth ſhine amidſt the powers of the world, like to that fire which was placed in the cloud that conducted Iſrael: and when on the other ſide I doe conſider how many be within our owne bowels, who cannot diſcerne this great Cittie vpon the mountaine, nor ſee the bright Lanterne which God hath*

planted in it to explore the workes of darknesse, as if they were burnt with the fire of Promotheus, that too much light had made them blinde, while as one sort pretending to maintaine the Catholike antiquitie of the Church, doth spoyle all primitiue simplicitie to establish that most absurd and impious tyrannie of the Pope, tending to the extinction of this diuine Lampe which burneth so clearely among vs, and to the ouerthrow of our most Sacred Prince and Country. An other sort, vnder colour of phantasticke and Ideal puritie, striueth to supplant the auncient and approued policie of the Church to the destruction and danger of the whole State: I thinke that euen as the contagious vapours of corrupted bloud ascending ordinarilie into the braine, doe breed at length a mortall epilepsie of the bodie, euen so the mistie exhalations of fearefull Ignorance and presumption mounting continually into the seate of the vnderstanding, they doe obscure the light of temperate wisdome, and peece and peece beget a spirituall epilepsie of the soule. The contemplation of which pittifull astonishment of mens witts, as if they were stolne away by the enchantment of some new Circe, it hath opened my mouth, (who professe to be a simple Asse) to speake of the causes of their disease, and of the meanes as well of the peace of Christs Church in generall, as of the intestine harmonie which ought to be in euery thing amongst vs, who are the members of this nationall Church in particular, and for their helpe to character in some chiefe circumstances, the happinesse and serenitie of our time within

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this great and fortunate ISLE, *while as all the Kingdomes which doe inviron it be so atteynted with pernicious errors lesse or more, that for vpright knowledge (like vnto that strong illusion of Ixion)* pro Iunone nubem amplectuntur, *in place to enioy the Queene of Heauen, which is the sinceritie of religion and true gouernment, they doe but imbrace a cloud of deceitfull abuses, so hath the insidious Clergie, namely of the Iesuite, betrayed the Christian liberties of both. This I doe not performe by dogmaticall grounds of Theologie, but by a briefe Empiricall discourse of such practises as I did obserue in the Church of Rome, and in other Churches during my Peregrination through diuers principall parts of Christendome, while as (like to that miserable Asse of* Apuleius) *I did sustaine many changes and disfigurations of minde in matter of my faith, till in the end the Lord in his mercie brought me to act that last transmigration of* Apuleius, *which made him to be called the* Golden Asse, *that as he was said to recouer his humane shape by snatching his mouth full of Roses that were caried by the Priest of* Ceres, *so I smelling really the sweet odour of that deepe dyed Rose of the* Canticles, *the Lord* IESVS CHRIST, *our great Priest, called the sauour of life to life, by meanes thereof I was restored to my liuely image, the golden historie whereof, and of the notable things which I did remarke vnder those spirituall Metamorphoses, is here set downe for the information of such darkned mindes, as be yet captiued with Circe, and cloathed in vncouth shapes.*

And sithence, my Lord, this Treatise hath already found an easie accesse vnto your GRACE *and so benigne acceptation, that your Grace haue not onely set ouer it a censorious and skilfull Surueyor, but haue been content to heare diuers points of the same agited before your selfe, notwithstanding of the most weightie and assiduous businesse, wherewith I did see you to bee pressed. For this respect amongst many others, I doe not see where it can finde a surer passe to goe abroad, then in the trust of your protection, nor where it can more iustly demaund the same then from your Grace, whose pastorall vigilance doth well approoue that Royall wisdome which did preferre you to bee the principall Watchman of this Church, and to carrie the touchstone, for tryall of all such peeces as should bee offered to the Lords Sanctuarie: whose extraordinarie Exaltation in the house of God, to be, from no Prelate Primat of England* ante annum vertentem aut circiter, *doth testifie that the great Spirit which alwaies ruleth his* Maiestie *our* most Gracious Soueraigne, *hath breathed vpon your Election, that you should bee* tanquam Sol refulgens in Templo altissimi, *a bright starre of his Church, and a conspicuous marke of his extraordinarie grace vouchsafed vpon this great Kingdome, I say extraordinarie, for if the Papall Bishops while they doe impugne the truth of Gods word forbidding marriage to authorise the doctrine of their celibat, they do not the lesse contaminate the same with lewd and open pollutions, and your Grace all in contrarie, while you doe*

doe ſtand for the Euangelicall libertie of Matrimonie, you doe in the meane time by the puritie of your life, practiſe the perfection of the cloyſterrall Cælibat, taking vnto you that religious word of the more innocent and vertuous ages, Si placet licet : *I thinke it is a cleere mirrour, wherein the world may ſee that it is the good ſpirit of God, who doeth freely diſtribute his extraordinarie giftes to ſuch faithfull Prelates as worſhip him according to the trueth of his word : and that no vſurped authoritie of Popiſh or humane traditions can doe ſo much. And ſince there is no better meanes to make your* GRACES *Excellent and ſpirituall partes* tanquam Thus redolens in Templo Domini, *(as was ſaid of that worthie Prieſt* Symon Onia*) to ſmell as a ſweete perfume in the* LORDS *houſe, then by continuing your delight to cheriſh the ſtudie of vertue where it is found in the moſt remote partes of the land, which is indeede a ſauorie preſage of that perfect vnitie which God doeth diſpoſe to bee in the whole Church of the ſame.*

Therefore let it pleaſe your GRACE *to receiue theſe firſt and tender Seedes of my publike Seruice to God, to my moſt Sacred Soueraigne* PRINCE, *and to this Common-wealth, whereof you are the firſt vitall member, and ſo to nouriſh them by the kindly ayre of your vertuous ſpirit, that they may bee found to produce a happie fruite, that is to ſay, a fruite which hath*

not aborted, nor hurt his bearer by vntimely parting with it, but comming to maturitie prooueth wholesome to all those who taste it, and leaueth the Tree in full vigour and reputation.

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Your Graces humble
and affectionate seruant

P. Hay.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

CHristian and curteous Reader, this Treatise which I haue framed for the glory of God, the comfort of his Church, and the seruice of this common-weale, wherein wee liue, why it is Intituled, *A vision of Balaams Asse*, you may perceiue in the entry thereof. It containeth in speciall these three, First the cause of my voluntary recantation of Popery, Secondly a cleere discouery of the tyranny of Rome, mounted in our time to her Meridian or Altitude; And of the treacherous trade and doctrine of the Iesuite, who doth falsly maintaine the Papall Soueraignty tending to the ouerthrow of Christian Princes and states: Thirdly, a discourse of the apparant approach of her reformation or downefall, and of the probable meanes, whereby the Lord God doth dispose the restitution of Christian people from the spirituall captiuity of this Babel, with a sincere exhortation to you to honour aswell the meanes, as the instruments, whom God doth pointforth for the aduancement of this great worke, as you haue them here set downe in particular: In the which exhortation if any thing be, that vpon the suddaine seemeth distastfull to you, I do entreate you that you will not for that rashly reiect it, but do taste it againe and againe, remembring how oftentimes disgusts do grow rather by the distemper of our sence, then by any fault which is in our meats: As a diseased person must for the sake of his health controle his naturall appetite, and as nature in generall (who seldome doth erre) by offering violence vnto her particular members for

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her common benefite, doth proue a good Phyſitian to her ſelfe: So if wee cannot ſtraine our priuate humours for a publike weale, wee are ſenſeleſſe and cauterized members of the commonweale, and our diſeaſes when they come they ſhall be deſperate and deadly: It was a worthy ſaying of him who ſpake ſo, *Omnis magna lex habet aliquid iniquitatis*, that euery great law had ſomething of iniquitie in it, not that any expreſſe iniuſtice was in the law, but becauſe when ſo many liue within their own Spheares, onely to themſelues, without reſpect to the commonwealth, it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh any great law, which ſhall not bring diſpleaſure to thoſe particular members, whoſe actions are not ruled by common equity, common reaſon, or common good. If we doe grudge againſt our lawes, or our lawgiuers, becauſe they are not pleaſant to our peculiar taſte, we be farre inferiour in true vertue to the Ethnicks, who thought it the chiefeſt mark of their vertuous mind, and their greateſt glory, to remit proper loſſes, proper grudges, and proper opinions to the common wealth. The preciſe *Cato Vticenſis*, who might haue brooked the firſt dignities vnder *Iulius Caſar*, becauſe it was not to his mind, he choſe rather to die then to liue diſtracted in opinion from the ſtate: That vpright Philoſopher *Socrates* hauing in his choice to be baniſhed or to die, he embraced death, ſaying that a man caſt off from his common wealth, was no more a man. Is it not ſtrange then amongſt vs, in whom that obſcure light of nature (which onely did guide them) is made celeſtiall, by the diuine ſplendor of Gods reuealed word; to ſee that a Chriſtian Paſtor, before he will quit ſingularitie of opinion, and ſingularity of name to our common wealth ſpirituall, to the peace and credit of our Church, conforming himſelfe to orthodoxall lawes, eſtabliſhed by the authoritie of a moſt Chriſtian Prince, a ſetled Church and well gouerned ſtate, he will firſt chooſe either to liue at home a ſeditious tribune, *In perpetuo obſtrepitu*, or *a trasfuga*, exiled from his native countrey.

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Certainely where there is no perfect vnitie, there can be no perfect peace nor perfect loue, and consequently no Church, because these are the whole scope of the Euangell and of all true Religion: Vnanimitie is the bond which maketh the Church strong, *Ecce circumdedi te vinculis*, saith God in Ezechiel: Behold I haue hedged you about with bands. It is the knot and sinnewes which tye the members of Christ together in one body, and therfore is so diligently recommended by him to his Apostles, and so oftentimes figured to vs in the old Testament by tipes: By the vestiment of the high Priest, whereof euery thing was tied to another, all being but one piece. By the Tabernacle wherof euery thing was iointed in an other, the whole standing in coniunction: for wee bee so called in the Apocal. *Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus & habitabit cum ijs*, The Tabernacle of God which dwelleth among men, By the vessels whereof so many as were not closed together, but were open in diuers pieces, they were said by the spirit of God to bee vncleane, as we see in the Booke of Numbers: We are the vessels who be made by the hand of our heauenly Potter, of whom Saint *Paul* saith, *Alia quidem in honorem alio verò vasa in contumeliam*. If we be not close and inseparable among our selues, we shal be found the vncleane vessels of dishonour: Vnity is the beauty of the Church now, and it shall bee her triumphant song in the end, to cry as the Prophet had foretold of latter times, *Venite ascendamus in montem Domini*, Come brethren let vs goe vp together to the mount of God: Therfore these exhortations are to pray the Lord God who hath formed vs, to make vs vnited vessels of honour: and to that effect to rectifie our iudgements, that wee may esteeme no names so sacred vnder heauen, as the holy names of harmony, peace, and vnanimity within the Church in one thing, and in all things, that we may thinke no opinion more Christian in this age wherein wee liue, then that of the venerable *Zanchius*, one of the brightest stars

Ezec. chap. 4.

Apoc. 2.

Num. 19.

2. Tim. 2.

of our owne Hemiſpheare, in his treatiſe, *De vera reformandarum Eccleſiarum ratione*, written (for that part) as followeth. *Whatſoeuer is in the Church of Rome, or in any other Church, it is either agreeable to the written word, or contrary, or* adiaphoron, *indifferent: Whatſoeuer is beſides the written word, either in the Fathers, in the Councels, or in the Papall decrees: they are in like ſort vnder the ſame diſtinction,* Pro contra, *or indifferent. For the firſt, that which is agreeable with the word, is to be retained, or if it be reiected, it is againe to be receiued: for the ſecond, that which is contrary, is to be refuſed, or if it hath been followed, is againe to be forſaken: for the third, that which is indifferent, we muſt not thinke that it doth of it ſelfe belong vnto ſaluation, but in ſuch a caſe we muſt follow the rule of the Apoſtle, That nothing bee brought into the Church, but that which doth tend to edification, order, or vnity: All indifferent ceremonies therefore, may bee ſecurely followed for any of theſe reſpects; but ſo to be followed as that we ſtil preferre things which bee more ancient, vnto thoſe which be more late, aſwell for the honour of antiquity, as becauſe that which is moſt ancient in the Church is moſt true, for albeit nothing can binde the conſcience but canonicall Scripture, yet to introduce nouelties, or to baniſh out of the Church any of thoſe things, which from the primitiue time hath beene allowed by common and Catholike conſent, and confirmed by the writers of the ancient Fathers. To reiect ſuch things, with out authoritie of generall Councell, it is not lawful for any Chriſtian man who feareth God,* ſaith he, Can we maintaine more ſound opinions, either as good Chriſtians, or as good ſubiects, then thoſe of *Zanchius* for vnity, tending to the ſtrengthening both of Church & State: we eſpecially of this Iſle, the condition wherof, if we conſider truely, when it lay thouſands of yeres of our anceſtours, diuided in weake and diſmembred Kingdomes, and as our owne eies haue ſeen it ſubiect to the ambition of ſo many forrain *Pharaohs*, as haue preſſed to bring it vnder their ſeruitude, by practiſes now from France, now from Spaine, now from Rome:

we

we ſhall thinke this age wherein we are, to be like to that fourth generation, wherein God did predeſtinate (as he foretold *Abraham*) to bring his poſterity out of Egypt, for that ſame God, called *Mirabilis Deus in ſanctis ſuis*, miraculous in his Saints, who raiſed that excellent *Moſes*, to lead his people through the troubleſome deſerts, to a glorious ſtate in the Land of Canaan, hee hath alſo ſent to vs a mighty and extraordinary inſtrument, to lead vs through thoſe perilous perplexities now paſt, vnto the ioyfull Iubile of theſe conioyned Kingdomes, making this Iſle great and fortunate in his royall perſon, as hee made his people of Iſrael moſt bleſſed for the time, by the like coniunction of the tree of *Ioſeph*, with the tree of *Iuda*, ſaying by the Prophet *Ezechiel*, That they ſhould bee all vnder one King, and no more a diuided people: So that they who delight in diſiunction, be they *Aaron*, be they *Miriam*, be they *Core*, *Dathan*, or *Abiram*, who rebels againſt *Moſes*, eſpecially: bee they Ieſuited Papiſts, or hereroclite Puritans, I ſpeak not of any good men who obey God, and the Prince, but of thoſe who carry armed harts, factious and vehement ſpirits againſt the State, ſpirits contrary to God becauſe (as the Scripture ſaith) *Non in commotione Dominus*: The Lord is not in commotion, ſpirits not of peace nor edification, but of deſtruction, *In ſpiritu vehementi conteres naues Thar ſis*, ſaith *Dauid*: Be who they will who grudge againſt *Moſes*, euery wel diſpoſed member of the common-wealth, hath great cauſe to grudge againſt them, leaſt they cut the thred of our felicity, and bring vpon vs (which God of his infinite mercy forbid) by our conſtant murmurings, that euill which befell the obſtinate Iſraelites, at the waters of contradiction, whoſe wicked rebellions made *Moſes* to offend the Lord grieuouſly, euen that good *Moſes* of whom it is ſaid, *Dilectus Deo & hominibus*, Moſes *cuius memoria in benedictione eſt*: Though hee was dearely beloued of God and men, and though hee was the moſt meeke of all liuing fleſh, yet they brought

the Lords indignation vpon themselues, and vpon him, who both were preuented by death, and were not suffered to enter into the Land, nor to taste the fruits of their long and painefull voyage in the Wildernesse: God of his goodnes grant you to loath these waters of strife, and chiefly these waters which bee poysoned with Iesuiticall wormewood and gaul, wherof so many millions of people haue died within these threescore yeres, that you may cry in time with that Prophet, *Saluum me fac Domine quoniam intrauerunt aquæ vsque ad animam meam*, Deliuer me, O Lord, because those waters haue gone vnto my Soule. God grant (that like vnto the holy Doue) you finde no resting place among them vntill you enter into the Arke and vnitie of the Church, that we may liue together in one hope, to see the further mysteries of this happy time, the seale whereof is already opened to the great admiration of all the world. It was forbidden anciently to sacrifice a Swan, because her plumes are white and her heart black, so would I wish that from this peace offering might be debarred all such, whose hearts are incurably blacked with pride of stricknesse and singularity, and that it should bee onely handled of those meeke and ingenuous spirits who will bee contented to found their iudgement thereof, vpon those three grounds without the which our knowledge cannot be sure, as S. *Augustine* faith, *Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra scripturas nemo Christianus, contra Ecclesiam nemo pacificus*, That no sober man should make opposition to reason, nor no Christian man to the Scriptures, nor no peaceable man to the Church. And so hoping that the modest Reader will obserue these grounds, I doe submit my selfe to his discretion, beseeching him that he would not looke vpon my paines with his sinistrous eye, nor receiue with the wrong hand that which I doe present vnto him with the right.

Aug. de Trinit. lib. 4. cap. 6.

Epigramma

CVI decus immortale triplex, cuiq; aurea cingit
Gloria conſpicuum Rex Iacobe caput.
Prima tibi antiquæ fidei quum cura tuendæ,
Proxima ſit populi paxq; ſaluſq; tui:
Procurat quod vtrumq; lubens, quod promouet vltro,
Quid tibi Seruitio gratius eſſe queat:
Tale miniſterium libro hoc tibi præſtat & offert
Hayus, ab antiquis nobile germen auis:
Quemq; ſuo Regem populo caput, & caput vnum
Dum Chriſtum omnigenis gentibus eſſe probat:
Parendum his Solum, inuictis rationibus vrget,
Quas monumenta Patrum, ſacraq; ſcripta ferunt:
Et fugienda Lupæ Babilonis pocula ſuadet,
Et quæ ſeditio turbida monſtra parit:
Palanteſq; reducit oues ad ouile, Rebelles
Et populos Regum flectit ad obſequium:
Dignum opus ingenio Domini, quo munere verum
Chriſtigenam, & ciuem ſe probat eſſe bonum:
Dignum opus æterno Genio quoq;, quem dabit, O Rex,
Aſpirans ſacri Numinis aura tui.

Hæc M. E. D.

The Contents of the seuerall Chapters wherein this Treatise is diuided.

CHAP. I. Folio 1.

Containeth the occasion of the Treatise: Some cleere testimonies of the perfection and plainenesse of the Scripture: The Apologie of the Asse to shew the reason of the Title.

CHAP. II. fol. 17.

Containeth two infallible grounds set downe for the better triall of idolatrous worship and prevarication in Gods seruice: The first is the force of our naturall light and diuine instinct of our conscience: The second is a true definition of Idolatry.

CHAP. III. 37.

Containeth a faithfull relation of the lewd & open superstitions, and of the ridiculous iests of pretended Miracles which the authour did contemplate in the Church of Rome.

CHAP. IV. 51.

Containeth a rehearsall of the impiety of Papall Indulgences, that is to say, Pardons and dispensations: Of the auowed pollution of the celibate and monasticke life, and of other capitall vices which be pregnant in the Court, in the Cloysters and in the city of Rome, to the manifest discredit of all Christian doctrine and profession.

CHAP.

CHAP. V. 65.

Containeth a perfect discourse of the Orthodoxall authoritie of Christian Princes ouer the state Ecclesiasticall in the primatiue Church: Of the pernicious Doctrine of the Iesuites, which doe impugne the same contrary to the opinion of the French Church and of that famous Palladium of the Sorbon: A discouery of the ambitious designe of this wicked and treacherous Cleargie.

CHAP. VI. 114.

Containeth the particular meanes whereby it pleased God to reclaime the Author from that idolatrous religion, together with his Counsell against superstitious and popish obduration.

CHAP. VII. 114.

Containeth a paralell or comparison betwixt Ierusalem and Rome, that as Rome fell away with Ierusalem, so must shee bee with her subiect to reformation and restitution. The order and meanes of Christian Reformation after the Example of Ierusalem: A iust expostulation against the desperat paroxisme and implacable contentions of the religious Cleargie on both sides, with a most Christian admonition vnto them, to carrie simple and vpright mindes of pacification. The occasion of the euill carriage which hath beene in Christian reformations: The reformation of the Church of England most perfect and most happy.

CHAP. VIII. 148.

Containeth a limitation of the Primitiue Church, whereunto, and to no other, all Christian People are to appeale for true reformation. The infallible authority thereof: The iudgement aswell of the ancients as of our Archi-reformators touching the retaining in reformed Churches, of the Primitiue and Catholike policy of Episcopall gouernment, and of in different Ceremonies receiued from antiquity not contrary to Gods word.

CHAP. IX. 159.

Containeth a search of the best and surest policies which be

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in nature, in the ciuill state in Oëconomy, in morality, shewing that the Monarchicall authority is most agreeable with Gods will expressed in Nature.

CHAP. X. 171.

Containeth a discourse in fauor of Episcopall Iurisdiction by some chiefe and ingenuous Reasons which do approue the same.

CHAP. XI. 191.

Containeth the opinion of all the famous reformatours, who haue beene since Luther *hitherto: of the Church Policy: an excellent and necessary point for our information: some graue and pithy speeches touching the waight of Episcopall function.*

CHAP. XII. 205.

Containeth the reasons why wee should receiue againe into the Church Organs and Musicke, for honour of antiquity for our domesticke vnion with our more then halfe arch the Church of England, and for the holy and deuote importance which is shewn to be in Musicke: together with the like discourse for reception of the clericall garments which be in the same Church.

CHAP. XIII. 233.

Containeth briefly a suruey of the Princes and States which are Catholike Romans, & out of that a consideration of the possibilities to practise an vniuersall Reformation of Christendom.

CHAP. XIV. 259.

In the last chapter from the present condition of this Kingdome of Great Britaine is drawen a principall argument of the falling of Babel, and of the approach of the Iubile of Catholike reformation, the contemplation whereof is heere set downe in sundry waightie circumstances and worthy of consideration, to rectifie the iudgement of euery well disposed subiect, that they may truely vnderstand the mystery of this time, the rare blessings of God so long reserued for our age, and rightly discouer the clandestine and pretended grudges of those who carry seditious and distracted mindes from the State.

A VISION OF BALAAMS ASSE.

VVherein he did perfectly see the present estate of the Church of ROME.

CHAP. I.

The occasion of the Treatise: The perfection and plainenesse of holy Scripture: The Apologie of the Asse, and reason of the Title.

MY very NOBLE LORD, it is certain that Christian faith and Christian virtue goe inseparable together, that is the tree, and these are the fruit, and where wee see not plenty of these, it is an argument of the Tree decaying: So that our greatest happines in this world, consists in our constant action of Christian workes: howsoeuer our eternall felicitie is chiefely contemplation, yet our contemplatiue life here vpon earth (euen where it is most syncere) doth but resemble Alpestre and mountanous grounds, which be stately but barren, compared with the fruitfull Valleyes of the virtuous actiue life, properly obserued by that famous Doctor, *Greg. Mag:* in his Allegorie vpon the double wiues of Iacob, *Rachael videns & pulchra, sed sterilis, Lea lippa sed*

secunda. Among vertues it hath euer carried a great reputation to trauell abroad, for increase of knowledge to enter vpon the chiefest stages of the world, to see aboue the vulgar reach; and as the good Merchants ship, to bring precious wares from farre Countries, or like the industrious Bee, to sucke the hony of true wisdome from the rarest herbes of experience, the varieties whereof are best found in Trauelling. As the Scripture saith in *Eccles.* He who would apply his minde to the meditation of Gods Law, he shal trauell through strange Countries, where he may try the good and euill among men, and when the great God will, he shall be filled with the spirit of vnderstanding, that he may poure out wise sententences, which is the reason why in men who haue trauelled, we doe looke commonly for some accession of knowledge: for that cause it is, that I, who also among others, haue brought the eyes of people vpon me in this kind of expectation, doe find my selfe bound by some vertuous discharge, to iustifie my peregrination beyond Seas, esteemed by many in that season of my age, and in so meane a state as I doe possesse, to haue beene vntimemous, temerary, perillous, and vnprofitable. And which hath beene most vildely calumniated by diuers of your Lordships profession, among whom, a certaine one of good worth did, as I was enformed, giue this indgement of me, that I had gone abroad the voyage of King *Saul*, to bring home my Fathers Asses, which bitter insectation, with many such like tempests of mens tongues, I haue sithence (like a true and vpright Asse) borne foorth with no other armour, then patience, vntill now being curious in what sort I might best pay this expectation of good men, and best emancipate my selfe from this persecution of malignant mouthes, I haue chosen, to assay if I can inspire into erroneous mindes, specially into your Lordship, some disposition to better opinions in this time of your so great exigence, and necessitie you stand in to resolue. First, the

vniuersall

vniuersall and feruent desires of our Countrey, euen from his Maiestie, our most *gratious Soueraigne*, to the beggar, to see your Lo: reduced to a faithfull sympathy and communion with the rest, being otherwaies so noble a member of this kingdome, as you are, *tam gratiæ, & consilio, tamquam honoris partibus in Respublicam*, this doth make it a good seruice to God and to the common wealth: secondly, the great honour and dutie which I owe to your Lordship, for the great honour which I haue by you, to be sprung from that ancient and famous bloud of your house, doth infinitely tye mee to this endeauour, who (if I were a meere stranger to your Lordship) must yet thinke it my honour to be sufficient for your seruice: thirdly, the opportunity which I haue by this publike discharge to render vnto the world an ingenious accompt of my selfe, it doth enioyne with these a priuate respect of mine owne.

So it is that the Prelates and Preachers of Gods word who bring in their mouthes the medicine of Christian soules, they cannot moue your Lo: nor enter vpon your minde, so haue you intrenched the same within the common subterfuges of vniuersality, Antiquitie, and succession of the Church: of insufficiency of the holy Scripture, of authority of humane supplement and traditions, and while you are brought to the Fathers, now quarelling the edition of bookes, and now against, betaking your selfe to your *simplicia fides*, like vnto that Mariner who hauing lost his loadestarre in a darke night, he wandereth, but knoweth not his course. The *Israelites* had no other guid through the deserts then the pillar of fire which was in the cloude, who once looseth the cleere light of the Euangel, which is a bright starre placed to conduct vs, through the wildernesse of humane wisdome, he shall neuer finde out his right course into the land of holinesse: And whiles your Lordship remaines thus inflexible against so many learned and graue *Diuines*, It would (like enough) be thought pre-

ſumption, and arrogancie in me to deale with you, if the ſpirit of God did not teſtifie that in great workes the helpe of weake inſtruments is not to be deſpiſed. When *Moſes* builded the Tabernacle of God, there came vnto him not onely all the wiſe men, to whom the Lord gaue wiſdome ſaith the text, *Sed quemcunque etiam extulerat animus vt ad id opus accederet*, but euen euery man whoſe heart did encourage him to furder that buſineſſe. The voice of a gooſe did once preſerue the Capitol of *Rome*, I confeſſe I haue gotten no more of Theologie, then ſerueth for my owne prouiſion, yet who knowes, but by my dealing it may fall foorth to your Lordſhip which hath happened to numbers of diſeaſed perſons, who hauing ſpent much time and much money among the Phyſitians, and neuer a whit recouered, they haue in end by good fortune attained vnto their health, by hearing ſome trauelling beggar relate, that which hath been done to himſelfe, or to ſome other man in ſuch a caſe; euen ſo, I being no Phyſitian, but bringing ſome Empiricall medicine to your Lordſhip, who haue renounced your phyſitians; I may poſſibly, (as God grant it proue ſo) doe ſome good to you, by a faithfull narration of that, which in the like diſeaſe hath befallen vnto my ſelfe and of the chiefe things which hath bread to mee diſtaſte of the Church of Rome, after I had ſo diligently and painefully conſidered the ſame.

But before I will enter into this diſcourſe Empiricall, or of experience, my conſcience doth moue me to ſay, this by the way, of the authority and power of Gods bleſſed word, that as it would be reputed a ſtrange dulneſſe, and ignorance in nature, not to preferre thoſe phyſitians who knowing the right ſimples, vſe no medicaments, vnto thoſe others who flying the ſimples, and practiſing by filthy and compoſed druggs doe more often prooue murtherers then Phyſitians; Euen ſo in ſpirituall cures, what a pitie is it, that your Lo: ſhould thinke the Preachers of Gods word (who miniſter no

other

other food of the soule, but the pure and simple Scripture) to be insufficient to helpe you: that this lively and incorruptible Word should be reiected of you, to embrace in place thereof a word composed, and mixed with humane inuentions, that nourishing word whereof it is said, *Non in solo pane viuit homo sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei*: And which in effect did feed *Moses* fortie daies in the mountaine, That pure and simple word whereof it is said, *Comedetis panes azymos & non fermentatos*, You shal eat simple bread and not that which is leauened, to shew that it cannot endure the drosse and mixture of humane wisdome, That word of true life, *Verba quæ ego loquor spiritus & vita sunt*: the words which I speake are Spirit and life, saith our Sauiour in Saint *Iohn*, That word of healing and curing, whereof *Dauid* saith, *Misit verbum suum & sanauit eos*: That word which restoreth to life againe those who be already dead, *Ossa arida, ossa arida, audite verbum Domini*, and presently life entred into them as the Prophet doth testifie. That word of finall safety whereof Saint *Iames* saith, *Suscipite insitum verbum quod potest saluare animas vestras*. That word which is so entire, so plaine and like vnto it selfe in old and new Testament, that they bee no other then a perfect harmony of spirituall musike, The former the prophesie of our Sauiour, and the latter his exhibition, the one his portract, the other his person, the one the cloude which contained the light of Gods Church, the other the fire which shined into the cloude, or to speake it more familiarlie, as it were to draw this new wine out of these old vessels, this oyle out of that Oliue, this honey out of that combe, this corne out of that chaffe, this marrow out of that bone, this manna out of that pitcher, this law of grace out of those Tables of damnation. This word which is intellectuall and not imaginarie, necessarie and not superfluous, diuine and not humane certaine and not doubtfull, in points necessary plaine and not obscure, that from the beginning of *Genesis* to the Reuela-

Math. 4.

Iohn 6.

Psam: 106.

Reuelation there is no other difference but of the figure, and the things figured: That like vnto that golden propitiatory from the which God spake, described by *Moses* to haue two *Cherubins* one of euery side, looking directly each vpon other; And in manner of these Seraphins seene by *Isai*, which by alternatiue voices did continually sing, *holie, holie*. Euen so do those Cherubines of the old and new Testament, mutually breathe out the testimonie of our great propitiation of the which *Dauid* saith, *Quia apud te Domine propitiatio est*, And these two Seraphins in like manner, doe render alternatiue ecchoes in both these Testaments; of that *holie, holie Sauiour*. In such manner that it doth breed incredible ioy to a Christian heart to remarke the vniformitie, and correspondence of the Spirit of God throughout the word: The Scripture (for Example) maketh frequent mention of the waters of life, to vnderstand what is ment by the waters of life in the old Testament, God himselfe said to to *Moses* and *Aaron*: *Loquimini ad Petram istam, & ipsa dabit vobis aquam*, in the new Testament Saint *Paul* doth expound the mistery *bibebant Patres nostri de spirituali consequente illos Petra, Petra autem erat Christus*: was there euer any more cleerenesse or correspondency? Againe it is said in *Ezechiel*: *Effundam super vos aquam mundam, & mundabimini ab omnibus iniquitatibus vestris*: And in *Esai*: *Effundam aquam super sitientem, & fluenta super aridam*: And in *Zacharie*: *Erit fons patens Domui Iacob in ablutionem peccatoris & menstruatæ*, Is not that as plaine as Christ himselfe did speake it to the Samaritane woman, at the same well of *Iacob*, thereafter I giue you water to drinke, after the which you shall thirst no more: was there euer prophecie or exhibition more correspondent? then to heare *Esay* crying, *Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas*, and to heare Christ himselfe answering by S. *Iohn*, *Si quis sitiat veniat ad me*. The law of *Moses* was written in Tables of stone, and deliuered with horror *per lampadas & sonitum Buccinæ montemq; fumantem* saith the Text,

Exod 25.

Nomb. 20.

1. Cor. 10.

Eze. 36.

Isai 14.

Isai 55.

Iohn 35.

to

to shew the austeritie thereof, and our impossibilitie to fulfill it, and doth not the Gospell accord most cleerely with the same, *Hoc iugum neque nos neque Patres nostri portare potuimus*: The law Euangelicall and of Grace, was written in the flesh of the incarnate deitie, to declare the softnesse and facilitie thereof, according to that which was prophesied as our Sauiour himselfe doth testifie, *Iugum meum suaue est, & onus meum leue*: All which things doe shew the correspondencie and plainnesse of the holy Scriptures. Lastly, it is that omnipotent word whereof the Apostle saith, It is inspired from God, and is able to make the man of God perfect in euery good worke. Then seeing it is such a powerfull and perfect word, shall we turne backe to Iudaisme and blinde our selues in obduration against the splendor thereof, boldly affirming that it is obscure, imperfect and hath neede of humane helpe, how shall we be confounded in that great day, being confronted with that learned Iewish *Rabbin Barachia*, who out of consideration of this harmonie, and correspondence of Gods word was forced to say in his booke intituled *Medras Cohel-rab, Redemptor primus Moses, Redemptor vltimus Messias, & sicut Redemptor primus fecit ascendere puteum, ita Redemptor secundus fecit ascendere aquas ad salutem*. And with that other *Rabbin Iosue*, who doth directly call them the waters of Baptisme, which (saith he) succeedeth to circumcision, *Qui baptizatur & non circumciditur ipse erit Gher*, id est, *Gentilis conuersus ad rectam fidem*: So that I say for your Lo: to hold that this word is not sufficient to instruct you, and why? because it is not *panis fermentatus* it is not corrupted with pharisaicall traditions, nor flowes not from a Church whose Prelates and members pretend that they cannot erre. O but it flowes from the three persons of the God-head, and is inspired from aboue, as the holy Spirit doth testifie, This is a sorrow neuer to be repented, to maintaine that any thing other then Gods infallible incorruptible word, can be without error or fault: Man

not to erre? seeing the Prophet *Dauid* hath said, *omnis homo mendax*: seeing God himselfe hath said, *It repenteth mee to haue made man*, all the cogitations of his heart are wicked, there is nothing true but God, and his word as
Rom. 3. the Apostle saith *Deus autem verax est, & sermo eius veritas*: What shall wee speake of men? no not his very Angels be cleere in his eyes, *Et reperit prauitatem in Angelis suis* saith *Iob*: vnto the great spirit of God, is only giuen to be *Custos Tabularum Verbi Dei* Gardian of Gods truth, it is too pretious a iewell to be trusted to flesh and bloud, for if it had bin Gods will to tye his truth to men, why not to his knowne Saints? *Adam* whose body was formed by the finger of God, whose soule was breathed in his nostrils from the mouth of God, he had this spirit of truth once giuen him, but it left him by the suggestions of *Eua*: *Noah*, the first Preacher of the second World, he had this spirit, but was neglected of him in his drunkennesse. The excellent *Moses* of whom it is said, *dilectus Deo & hominibus, Moses cuius memoria in benedictione est*, he had that great spirit in such measure, that he ouercame nature by Sea, and Land, he commanded the Angels, and in a manner wrested the will of God, but he was neglected of this great spirit, in his distrustfull percussion of the Rocke, *Aaron* had this spirit, but was forgotten of him in the erection of the calfe, *Miriam* also, was forgotten in hir grudging against *Moses*: *Dauid*, a man to Gods owne heart, was fearefully neglected of this great spirit to follow adulterie and homicide: *Salomon*, whose breast the Lord filled with wisedome, was likewise left of this great spirit, when he fell in impious Idolatrie: The Arch-Apostle *Peter*, did not obey this spirit in the deniall of his master, yea after the Ascention and comming of the holy Ghost, there was contradictions among the Apostles. It is more then madnesse, to affirme that the wisedome of any man hath beene, or can be without error, other then Iesus Christ the Iust, or that any cannons, traditions, bookes, other

 then

then that one indited from the heart of God, and penned by his Spirit, to remaine for ever: The vnchangeable rule of our faith in Christ, the only sustantce thereof and our only infallible example that we are to follow, shewing first in the old Testament darkely to *Moses* in the mountaine, when it was said to him, *fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est*: secondly in the new Testament more cleerely in mount Tabor, and now most cleerely in the true mount of God. That great spirit is the only inditer who cannot lye: That Scripture the only booke which will not be wrested, that Iesus the only man who cannot erre. Therefore this word as it is said must be sufficient to make the man of God perfect. Christian perfection standeth in knowledge and in action, referring knowledge to our faith, and action, to our practise of faithfull workes, to hold that the holy Scripture is not accomplished for knowledge, as the Euangel saith, *sapientia est per fidem Iesu Christi*; or to hold that Christ was not a perfect Architype and Schoolemaster of all vertues, who hath himself said, *discite a me*, I think it is blasphemie, so that talke what we will, it must be blinde ignorance, to affirme, that the originall fountaines of Gods word, as they are comprehended in the holy Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles, are not more sincere and wholesome then the riuers flowing from the same through the channels of humane brains, which can no more remaine vnspotted by mans weakenesse, then naturall waters running from cleere fountaines can be without alteration of colour or tasse, according to the qualitie of ground, through which they passe.

The vniuersall Clergie of the Church of Rome doth damne this opinion of the sufficiencie of holy Scripture: what then? it is the more strong, the multitude doth abhorre the wayes of God, to walke in the broade way. If the Gibeonites had securely depended vpon the multitude of their neighbours of Canaan they had perished

in that common naufrage, certaine they are few who truely beleeue this word: some poore Gibeonites doe heere the voice of God and are mocked of the world, the multitude like vnto the Crowe, for loue of the sensuall carrions which flote among the waters of the earth, refuseth to remaine within the Arke. This holie Arke of Gods word is builded for a small number of his Saints, who find no rest without it. The multitude leaueth the sincerity of this word, to follow the wisedome of men: as the sonnes of *Adam* departed from the Orient to builde the Tower in the land of Senaar, which is interpreted stincke, how many were saued in Iericho by that red marke which was vpon the house of *Rahab*? how many doores were marked in Egypt to be spared by the holy Angell? within this small Arke, there was safetie, but not without.

Now to come to my intended purpose, which is not to play the Theologue with your Lo: there be certaine yeares gone, since I went forth of the Countrie pousled thereto from a scruple of my conscience; hauing from my childhood drunken in, some preiudicate and forestalled opinions, which did euer trouble and disquiet my minde so oft as I called to memory, howe *Plato* and other Philosophers had trauailed ouer the world to acquire natural knowledge; I thought it both ignominious and dangerous for me, if I should not paine my selfe to vnderstand the truth of Gods worship, whereupon transported with the fury of this preiudice, and closing my eies against the splendor of the word, which doth shine at home, I resolued once to fine my selfe *intra limina Apostolorum*, within the towne of Rome, that pretended mother Church, without the which, there was no meanes of Saluation, as then I did imagine; And this (I doe protest before the heauens, and before him who did creat them) was the true cause of my voyage, enterprised to seeke my fathers Asse (as he said) which was so truely spoken of him, that like vnto that high Priest

Annas.

Asse, he hath vttered a notable veritie vnknowne to himselfe as I will shortly set downe from such graue theologicall reasons, as shall both free me from passion and idlenesse in this point, and serue for the Christian edification of others: we see how it is familiar with the spirit of God in the Scripture, to vse the names of beastes, to make our grosse vnderstanding more capable by that kinde of sensible instruction: there is mention of good and euill beastes, and in the legall sacrifices of cleane and vncleane beastes. By euill beastes generally are meant, the Diuell and his Angels, and the dominion of sinne into vs, it is said by the Prophet, *vrit sumus vestra, & vita nostra vocabitur, & mala bestia non ascendet per eam:* And *Dauid, Ne tradas bestijs animas confitentes tibi:* And in the *Reuelation, & vidi de mari Bestiam ascendentem habentem capita septem & cornua decem*, which beside that true interpretation to be the Antichrist, some doe also allegorize to be the seuen deadly sinnes, and seuerall transgressions of the commandements, whereby Satan doth make himselfe Prince of the world, *confringam cornua peccatorum*, saith the Lord, And the Prophet *Zach. hæc sunt cornua quæ ventilabunt Israel*: So the tyranie of sinne into man, makes him to get the names of beastes, as the holy man getteth the style to be called God, or the sonne of God, as in the *Psalmes, God iudged in the assemblie of the Gods*: and in S. *Iohn, Dedit ijs potestatem filios Dei fieri*: And S. *Paul* of himselfe, *vivo ego, iam non ego, vivit verò in me Christus*: So are beastes said to liue in the wicked man, as the Prophet *Dauid* saith in 48. *Psalme*: The cruell man is said to be like the Ostrige, *Filia populi mei crudelis quasi Struthio in deserto*, The craftie insidious man as a Beare, *Vrsus insidians factus est mihi*: the proud man like a Lyon, *velut esse quasi Leo in domo*: the obstinate and wilfull man like vnto the Adder which desperatly closeth her eares, *sicut aspidis surdæ obturantis aures suas*: the wrathfull man as a Dragon, *fel draconum vinum eorum*: the fraudulent man as a

8

Isa. 35. Psal. 73.

Psal. 74.

Zach. 1.

Iohn 2. Galat 2.

Psal 57.

Deut. 32.

Ezech 13.

Deu.32. Fox, *quasi vulpes in deserto prophetæ tui Israel*: the oppressor as a woolfe, *Beniamin lupus rapax*: the lustfull man as a Goate, *iratus est furor tuus & super capras visitabo*? the lasciuious man as a horse, *equi amatores in feminas, & emissarij falli sunt*: the murtherer as a serpent, *fiat Dan coluber in via*: the tyrant as a Pard, *quasi Pardus lodet eos*: the ambitious man as an Eagle, *si exaltatus fuerit sicut aquila trahant te dicit Dominus*: the backbiter as a dogge, *quare maledixit canis hic Domino meo Regi*: the filthie man as a sow, *quasi sus lota in volutabro luti*. These are noted vnder the names of Beasts, which make vs the sonnes of that king of beasts the Diuell, *aduersarius vester tanquam Leo rugiens, & ipse est Rex super omnes filios superbiæ*, saith *Iob*: The Diuell againe is noted by the name of the Serpent, *Serpens erat callidior cunctis animalibus*. He is compared to the tortuous serpent full of crookes, *qui dissipat septem meandros cum Coluber*, It is said in *Ecclesiasticus*, and againe, *Non est caput nequius super caput colubri*.

Ecclesi.28. Ierem.49. Rhen.16. 1.Peter 2. 1.Peter 5.

There be also goodnesse and pietie signified by beasts in the holy Scripture. The Church of God is said to be a flock of sheepe, *Ordeamini ad die ouium uocem, pastor ouem mea? Non fuit missio nisi ad oues quæ perierunt Domus Israel*. Christ himselfe hath taken the name of a Lion, *vicit Leo de tribu Iuda*, to note the difference from that deuouring Lyon whom he hath ouerthrowne, figured by that Lyon which was rent by *Sampson*, who was a typicall Sauiour as we know. Againe, he taketh the name of a Lambe, *Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*. The third person of the Trinitie is figured also by a beast, the *holy Ghost* came downe in *Iordan* in forme of a Doue, and we are commanded to be simple as Doues, because otherwise the holie ghost cannot lodge with vs; albeit God the Father in the fulnesse and Maiestie of his godhead, he who hath said, thou shalt make *no grauen image*, &c. hath not vouchsafed to figure himselfe by the shape or name of any beast, as he would not name himselfe to *Moses* in other termes then, *ego sum qui sum*, to shew how

he

hy doth the text adde vnto, where vnto was he so bent? to shew that he is indefinite, infinite, illimitable for ever. Men would allege that he spake in person to *Moses*, and did appeare in a fierie bush to him; no, these were done by his holy Angels, the Apostle testifies that the Tables of the Law were given to *Moses* by an Angell, *Lex propter* Gal. 3. *transgressionem posita est, & ordinata per Angelos in manu mediatoris*; And S. *Steven* in the *Acts* doth witnesse, that an Angell, under the name of God spake to *Moses* in the bush. There appeareth to him (saith he) in the wildernesse of mount Synai, an Angell of the Lord in a flame of fire in a bush: That glorious spirit who said to *Moses* Acts 7. that no mortall flesh should see his face and live. That great spirit wherof it is said, *Spiritus Domini implebit orbem* Sap. 1. *terrarum*, who is in all things & all things in him as very Ethnicken have acknowledged it: *Jovis omnia plena, Jupiter est quodcunque vides*: A center is a circle in obscure, and a circle is a center dilated or spread out: God is all things that ever have beene or shall here to the end, comprehends in that infinite Majestie and power, and his glory dilated and displayed in so many noble creatures, how is it then possible to conceave the image or idol of so great a thing? when *Solomon* could not find his glorious Temple sufficient to receave it, *Solum & cœlum eum non capiunt, quanto minus templum?* And as *Saint Augustine* saith, *Quæ mens humana fallitur hæc manus fabrilis?* The person of Iesus Christ indeed is the proper temple wherein he dwelleth, wherupon he said, *Solvite templum hoc & triduo illud excitabo*, which also is a manifest argument against the erection of whatsoever images to Christ, because that God the Father in the fulnesse of his Deitie dwelleth in him as the Apostle affirmeth, *in quo habitat corporaliter omnis plenitudo divinitatis*. Alwaies speaking generally of beasts that be mentioned in the Scripture, I say that the spirit of God hath never (as appeareth to me) vsed any beast so familiarly as the Asse, to be significant of the high

John 2.

Ephes. 1.

The Apologie of the Asse.

misteries of our faith, and to bee a type of that pietie and goodnesse which should be in Christian people. And first, I shew it from this argument *a Contrario*, In the Scripture wee finde mention onely of two beastes to whome God did allotte the faculty of speaking, the Serpent, and the Asse, the Serpent opened his mouth to subborne impietie and rebellion against God, the Asse opened his mouth, to reprehend sinne in the Prophet. Therefor seeing it was said that the Serpent was the worst of the beasts, *nequa erat caput nequius super caput Calabri*, it must bee a iust consequence, that the Asse is the best, and most simple of beastes, and most excellent for naturall goodnesse. That by the Asse was signified Gods people appeareth by sundry places in holy Scriptures; when Saul was diuers times commanded *by Samuel* to returne home and receiue the kingdome, he answered him still that hee did feede his fathers Asses, till at length the Prophet told him the Asses were found, mystically meaning (as diuers learned authors doe interpret) the people, who as Asses) were to vnderlie the yoke of his obedience, as they have also expounded that other place of the Asse, when our Sauiour going vp to Ierusalem commanded his Disciples saying, *Ite in castellum quod contra vos est, & adducite mihi*; whereby they vnderstood the two people Gentiles and Iewes, who were fettered and bound to blindnesse, the one to Ethnicke Idolatry, the other to vaine legall Ceremonies, and were both to bee loosed, and by the liberty and grace of the Gospel, to be reduced to the obedience of Christ, that he might raign ouer them, as it is said, *An Iudæorum tantum Deus non etiam & Gentium*. The great *Samson* who was a figure of Christ as the spirit of God testifies by the historie of his birth (being like vnto that of our Sauiours) annunciat to his mother by the Angel; Thou wast barren but shalt now beare a sonne which shall be a Nazeret to the Lord and a deliuerer to the people, he shall be called *Samson, Solarium*,

Math: 21.

Rom: 3.

corum, according to the Hebrew Interpreters, at his death againe hee pulled downe the house replenished with the Philistines his enemies, destroying great numbers of them there, then in his life, as Christ did perfectly triumph vpon the Crosse ouer that spirituall Philistine, Satan, and ouer all the hostes of hell. The Scripture records of that figuratiue saiuour Samson that with the cheeke bone of an Asse he ouerthrew multitudes of his enemies, and that being almost stifled in the battel through extreme heat and thirst, fourth of the cheeke tooth of an Asses law-bone did spring water to refresh him, mystically signifying the Christian vertues of simplicity, humility, patience, painefulnesse, obedience flowing from Regeneration, and the waters of Baptisme (& which in nature be asinine qualities) should by the Gospel conquest multitudes to Christ, to the ruine of Satans Kingdome. The Asse hath knowledge aboue the common imaginatiue sense of beasts; There bee certaine currant traditions that Aristophanes affirmed, that an Asse was his condisciple in the schooles of Philosophie, and that other of *Apuleius Madaurensis* who told that he could not be admitted to the sacred mysteries of his goddesse *Isis*, if he had not changed himselfe out of a Philosopher into an humble Asse: further to declare those fine scholers knowledge in this asinine voyage of mine, I haue been curious all carnest euery feature which pertaineth to the Asse. The Prophet *Dauid* saith, *Nolite fieri sicut Equus & Mulus quibus non est intellectus*, but of the Asse the Prophet *Esay* wonderfully noting perhaps, the particular circumstances of our Saiuour (as some thinke) in a Prophetical vision hath said, *Cognouit Bos possessorem suum, & Asinus praesepe Domini sui.* It is manifestly seene that by naturall goodnesse the Asse hath those properties, which euery Christian is commanded to follow, so patient of iniuries that being beaten of any other beast, it taketh no offence, so painefull and obedient, that the greater burthen maketh it to travell

Psal. 31.

Esay 1.

dull more willingly, so simple that it requires no attendance, as horses and other serviceable beasts, so temperate, and sober at food; that while it turneth the most precious fruits, oyles, corne, spices, it putteth downe the mouth to pasture upon thistles, as it were a figure of that simplicity and austerity which ought to bee under the Crosse, & as some do imagine it hath the marke of a Crosse upon the backe. *Tertullian* in his daies did glory in this, That in the Primitive Church, the Pagans, and prophane nation Iudaei, did call the Christians *Asinarios*, beholding in them those Asinine qualities. Finally, that Asse who spake to *Balaam* as hee carried him to curse Gods people and not to impugne his Will, So were I beyond Seas carrying my head full of false and erroneous opinions, and my heart fraighted with desires to see and imbrace superstitious vanities, implored God of his mercy to open my eyes, as hee did to that beast, that I did see such odious corruption of his worship, & the judgements which are threatned against it, it pleased him who commanded to loose the Asse, to loose mee from the bands of ignorance, The Prophet *David* saith, *Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam, docebo iniquos vias tuas & impij ad te convertentur.* Since he who opened the mouth of the Asse, hath also for his glorie opened my mouth, I could not, neither be silent, although I be no Doctor, nor doe not presume to instruct your Lo: conscience, yet must I remember that commandement of our Saviour given to one whom he dispossessed of many Divels, *Revertere in domum tuam & narra quanta tibi fecerit Dominus.* Returne homeward, and now become a simple Asse in Christian knowledge, That which the Lord hath done to mee, I shall preach it to others, for his glorie and their edification: and so proceede to tell your Lo: how I was transformed *into this Asse of Balaam.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A Discourse of our naturall light and diuine instinct of our Conscience. A true definition of Idolatry for the better triall of superstitious worship, and preuarication in Gods seruice.

THe Scripture records that the Asse of *Balaam* went on a pace before he did see the Angel, and that the Angel was diuers times seene before obedience was done vnto him: so was it with mee all the while of my being in *France*, I did professe the Popish Religion, and as sincerely obey the discipline of that Church, as any man could doe of my weakenesse, and that from vpright zeale, and not from designe, whereof I could my selfe giue many great proofes, which be not pertinent here, onely this farre I say, That many times I haue heard in one weeke more then twenty Masses, and that for the greatest part there, where I knew no man, nor yet was knowne my selfe of any: Whereof also your Lo: selfe may beare witnesse by diuers of my Letters written to you in those times, chiefly by one, (if it please you to remember) from *Paris* immediatly before my going into *Italy*, in the which I did play the Parapymphe to my selfe, by prailing the resolution of my comming foorth, from the example of *Abrahams* calling, who was comanded by God to goe forth of his owne Country, that he might worship the Lord truely, and be blessed of him in a strange land: In such sort, that for the time, I could haue been content to remaine a *Transfuga* to my liues end. In this Letter I did allude to the greater light of the Southerne Sunne, and to the Aquilonar darkenesse founded vpon that Thalmudicall fable which we read in the writs of *Rabbi Eleazer*, in his

booke called *Zoar*, that in the creation of the heauens, God did leaue a hole in the Northerne parts thereof, that in the beginning the Sunne had his first point of motion in the Southeast, that about *Damascus* in the Southeast, God cooke that *Terra virgo*, that most perfect *Earth*, whereof he formed *Adam*, that the garden of Eden and mount Sion, were planted in the South-east, that God chose the Patriarckes and his peculiar people in the South-east, remote significations of Gods truth to remaine for euer in the Climats of the Southeast, according to that in the Canticles *Vbi habitabit dilectus meus? in meridie: vbi cubabis? in meridie.* And that the Northerne parts of the earth were the seate, naturally, of darkenesse and iniquity, as being subiect to the imperfect parts of the heauen, and to the aforesaid hole whereout Lucifer and his companions did fall, according to that vision of the Prophet, who heard him saying, *Sedebo in montibus Aquilonis, & similis ero altissimo:* alleaging this Scripture, *Omne malum pandetur ab Aquilone*, and the text of *Moses* of the seuen Candlesticks of the Arke looking from the North towards the South: as if the North were, *sinistra Mundi*, and the proper habitation of vncleane spirits, like as we see the *Aquilo* to be a tempestuous and destroying winde, whereas by the wholesome and nourishing *Auster*, is meant, the sweete and peaceable spirit of God, incalled in the Canticles, *Veni Auster & perfla hortum meum*: And whereof *Abacuc* saith, *Deus ab Austro veniet.* So that the seuen Candlesticks looking to the South, were signes of the perpetuity of the spirituall light there, neuer to bee extinguished by any tempest of Northerne heresies. These and such like fond fantasies which were then infused into mee, and which haue beene inuented by curious braines to poyson simple wits, did I introduce in that Letter.

Irem. 1.

Cant. 4.

And they were arguments good enough, both of my zeale, and of my ignorance, as if the garden of Eden,

were

were not many thouſands of yeeres agoe deprived of true light, and conſumed with the fire of Gods wrath, as if that holy mount Sion, and that mother City Ieruſalem, who had faire promiſes of perpetuitie made by God, then Rome, and all the Cities in the world, becauſe ſhee was (like vnto *Nauba* who preached to two worlds) the mother not onely of Iewiſh, but of Chriſtian Religion, as the Apoſtle ſaith; The law went out of Sion, euen the law Euangelicall, the perfection of all lawes, the Lord *Ieſus Chriſt*, declared to *Moſes* obſcurely in Sinai but manifeſtly publiſhed to the world in Mount Caluerie, as if that great and matchleſſe Citie, were not long agoe abandoned of God: ruined, accurſed, and proſtrate to the prophane yoke of godleſſe Turciſme: As if *Rome* it ſelfe were not become like to the Cities of the Plaine ſmoaking in the abhominable pollutions of *Sodom*: as if *Scotland* had not beene Chriſtian, perhaps, as ſoone as *Rome*, as *Tertullian* writeth in his ſeuenth booke *contra Iudæos*, *Britannorum loca Romanis inacceſſa Chriſto ſubdita fuere*: which diuers others learned Authors haue affirmed; and as if the Northern parts were not now become the ſeat of the Candleſticke purged from their fornications, while as *Rome* it ſelfe lyeth tryſling in Types, and Phariſaicall Ceremonies, in place of true Religion, defiled with her owne blood, refuſing to be cleanſed, abhorring the voice of reformation, crying with the blinded Iewes, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*. And that I did ſo long lie in this ignorance, what ſhall I ſay? *Spiritus ſpirat vbi vult, & quando vult*: yet this farre muſt I ſay for my ſelfe, it was not neither ſtrange in me, who ſince my youth had beene poſſeſſed with falſe opinions: for certainely, there bee ſo many ſpecious vailes which couer from a mans eies the truth of things; to wit, the gravity of their ſubtill Prelates, the exterior zeale and deuotion of the people, the ſplendor and the richnes of their Temples, the maieſty and reuerence of their Seruices, the

glorie of the processions, their exorbitant workes of superstitious Charitie, multitudes of Hospitals, and conuentuall houses, rented by voluntarie Contributions, the stoicall and stupid austeritie of the Proselites, the voluntary miserie of the Capuchins, the profound Preachers of the Dominicall and Iacobin Orders, the admirable policy of the Iesuitical trade, & withal their proud & perillous vaunting of Antiquity, Succession, and Vniuersality; these are sufficient at the first to surprise a iudicious minde, and to astonish a man, as if hee looked on *Medusas* head, who drinketh of Mandragora hee is in danger of a long sleepe, but who tasteth the cup of Superstition, he is in danger of deadly sleepe: That old *Circe* knoweth all the secrets of inchantment, and albeit she hath amazed Kithing mountaines of dead mens bones, yet of those who arriue in her Island and come within the hearing of her voice, they be few who escape her incantations; fewe who with *Vlisses* can tye themselues, vnto the maine Masts, to the ende they bee not rauished with her Syrens songes, which can keepe fast the sacred Anker of the pure word of God. Many through ignorance and naturall inclination to superstition, many againe through auarice and ambition are contented to be tranformed into beasts by the charmes of *Circe*. This euill of superstition among spirituall dangers, it is the great rocke of our common shipwrack, it is dangerous first, and especially because of the feareful iudgement which God doth inflict against it: For what is superstition, but a false worship of God. Of all the plagues and punishments vnder heauen, most fearefull is that which followeth superstition, the Prophet hath pronounced it against the obstinate follies of the Iewes, Esai. 6. *Audite audientes & nolite intelligere, videte visimẽ & nolite cognitare nec cognoscere, occæca cor populi huius, oculos eius claude, aggraua aures eius ne fortevideat oculis, auribus audiat corde intelligat, & cõuertatur, & sanẽ eũ.* which is to be giuen ouer by God, absolutly to follow lies & falshood in

place

place of veritie as the Apostle saith: *vt exhibeat meritacra qui non receperunt veritati*, great is the honour which is bestowed on vs while we stand in Gods true worship. A certaine great Deuine hath made this the difference betwixt God and good men, *Deus bonus cœlestis, bonus autem Deus terrestris*, but when we be spoiled with wicked idolatrie, it maketh the Lord to say of vs, *homo cum in honore esset & non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, & factus est similis illis*, and was not indeed that mightie *Nabuchadnezzar* for his wrong opinion of God changed into a beast? our other sinnes for the greatest part proceed of humane weakenesse, but this of wicked presumption, and therefore it is commonly punished with desperate obduration.

1. Thes. 2.

Secondly, idolatry is dangerous because it is ordinary and quotidian in the world, as euery body hath his owne shadow, so there was neuer Religion which had not his owne superstition: And as the shadow is longer then the body, except when the Sunne approcheth neere the Zenith, and sendeth his beames downe either perpendiculer, or toward a direct aspect vpon the earth as we say: Euen so when the light of the Euangell makes not a direct reflexion vpon our soules and mindes to certifie our knowledge, but comes vpon vs by obliquity, not in puritie but mixed with humane traditions, then growes superstition to be long. An extraordinarie and impious excesse of Religion dissoluing the true order of Gods worship into numbers of forbidden and pharisaicall ceremonies, it is the companion of true Religion: for truth and falsehood are twins borne almost both in one day, God spake to day in Paradise, the Serpent spake next morrow: *Simon Peter* in the Euangell spake to day, and *Simon Magus* spake to morrow: There was neuer Church free from corruption to the end, chiefly from idolatrous worship. *Adam* who was the first man created by God himselfe, in whose person was the whole Church of God, he fell away to beleeue the Deuill: *Aaron* who was the

first Priest ordained by God himselfe, by a legal warrant, he fell away to idolatrie: *Solomon* who was the first king, and first man commanded by God to build him a Temple for his seruice, he also fell away to idolatry. These no doubt be great arguments of the force of superstition. Thirdly, idolatry is dangerous because it is a popular disease, and so is the more contagious: The Israelites were once become so vniuersally Baalists, that the Prophet cryed, there was not one who had not bowed his knee to *Baal*. The Ecclesiasticall histories doe record that the Catholike Church was so once generally infected with Arianisme, that there was not a sincere Pastor, who durst minister the sacraments of Baptisme in a publike Temple. Such is the disposition of our corrupt natures to heresie and preuarication in Gods worship: Nature is moued and led by the sense, and in idolatrie there be so many gratious and pleasant shewes of piety as doe bewitch the senses.

Lastly, superstition is dangerous because the multitude who are chiefely giuen vnto it, can hardly discouer it, they be but *pecora campi*, as the wiseman saith in the Scripture: I lookt out vpon the earth, and I saw many beasts but few men: Superstition while it is masked it is a most plausible thing, Satan hath giuen to it a faire face, and oftentimes fairer then that of true Religion, after the sort of impudent whores, who be more curiously deckt then the chast Ladies, but when the mask is pulled off, there is nothing more vglie and despisefull for euen as it is a monstrous deformitie, that an Ape being a beast, should resemble a mans face: so superstition well considered, the more it is like to true Religion, the more it is deformed, and because the summe of this discourse shall stand into a consideration of such superstitious abuses and impietie as by experience I did remarke in the Church of Rome. Therefore that your Lo: minde may be the better prepared to ponder iustly my relation, and to discerne what is superstitious and

what

what is not so, I would first lay down two grounds, which if you finde reason to admit, they may possibly helpe greatly to cleere your Lo: iudgement.

The first whereof shall be this: As the World was neuer in any time without a God to gouerne it, so neuer was it in any age without some diuine law felt by the conscience of man, to render him inexcusable as a great Diuine saith, *cum sit Deus ab humana intelligentia procul absconditus, tamen suæ Maiestatis notas adeo claras & illustres singulis suis operibus impressit, vt sublata sit quamlibet crassa & stupidis, omnis ignorantiæ excusatio*, for if man had beene confirmed in that grace wherein he was created, he needed no law, *iusto non est lex posita*, saith the Apostle; But because as God himselfe doth testifie *prona sunt sensus hominum ad malum ab adolescentia*, therefore hath God bridled vs by a law, and first by the law of nature which he hath so surely stamped in our soules that it is enough to conuict vs before God: whereof Saint *Iohn* saith in his Gospell, *hæc est lux vera illuminans omnem hominem venientem in mundum*: The Apostle doth stand for this light, saying the inuisible things of him that is his eternall power and godhead are seene by the creation of the world, being considered in his workes to the intent they should be without excuse saith he. Of this Light the Prophet *Dauid* hath said, *multi dicunt quis ostendet nobis bona, signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine*, which ground being conferd with that other of Ignorance, maintained in the Popes Church to be the mother of pietie, and of *implicita fides* sufficient for a mans saluation, I know not what harmonie they make. And *Bellarmine* in his booke of controuersies, speaking of iustification and free will, doth reason farthest of any man for this force and light of our consciences: neither hath any wise Ethnicke euer refused it: *Cicero* in his booke *De natura Deorum*, *nulla est etiam tam barbara natio nulla prorsus tam efferata, cui non inuidat hæc persuasio Deum Esse*: But to the purpose, because of the fall of *Adam*, the Deuill did weaken the power of

The Light of nature.

1. Instit. cap. 2.

Rom. 1.

Psal. 4.

A discourse of three Lawes.

this light, and law naturall, that the olde world by euill
custome, and by the streame of iniquitie became blinde,
esteeming things good and lawfull in nature which were
not so, therefore God in his mercie made it more cleere
the second time, by giuing vnto *Moses* the written Law,
that our knowledge might be again made more inexcuse-
able, as Saint *Paul* saith, *peccatum non cognouissi per legem,*
Rom.1.16. *peccatum sine lege mortuum erat, delitescebat.* And to the
end that the world might know what a fearefull thing it
was to transgresse this law, it was pronounced in a ter-
rible sort; as I haue said, till the astonished people were
forced to cry, *Ne loquatur Dominus, ne forte moriamur,*
which was done to breede vnto your hearts a horror of
sinne and faith in Gods promises of the Messias, as *Mo-*
Exod.10. *ses* testifies, *vt terror eius in vobis & non peccetis.* The
yoak of this law, was so heavy on the one part, & the cor-
ruption of our rebellious nature so violent on the other
part, that euen as great inundations, by their impetuous
force, carry away the ramparts & bulwarkes which men
haue digged to restrain them, and ouerflowes their ordi-
narie bankes, euen so those obstinate Iewes by the vehe-
ment course of their wicked nature did transgresse and
dooborde ouer all the limits of this law, that it had no
vse among them but for their conuiction which hath
made the Apostle to say, *Lex propter transgressionem posi-*
ta est: till God out of his pitie did prouide a third law
and doctrine, which was the help againe of this, and the
finall fulfilling of all Lawes, the law Euangelicall and of
Grace: *The Lord Iesus Christ*, beside whom no mortall
man hath beene or shall be able to fulfill a law or to please
God. So that we see these three lawes, euery one of them
written and as it were indented one in the other, the na-
turall first written in the heart of *Adam*, but written ouer
againe by fairer letters in the *Mosaicall Tables*: And that
againe more cleerely written in the Euangell by exhibi-
tion of him who was the perfection of all Lawes. The
second doth expound the first, and the third doth both

ex-

expounde and accompliſh, the other two like vnto theſe wheeles ſeene by Ezechiell in a viſion, hauing the one incorporate in the other, euery ſinne committed againſt the law of Nature is alſo againſt the *Moſaicall* law, becauſe the *Moſaicall* is included in the Naturall, & what is againſt the *Moſaical*, is alſo againſt the law of the Euangel, which is the perfection of both the former. It is this way and reciprocally, there is no excuſe, the Iew ſaith, he will follow the Moſaicall, and not be a Chriſtian, the Turke ſaith he will doe neither, but obey the law of nature. They are deceiued, for they differ only in this, that the firſt two ſerues to ſhew vs our ſinnes, and make vs inexcuſable, the laſt ſaues vs from our ſinnes and makes vs righteous before God, they be all but one law, proceeding from leſſe perfect, to more and moſt perfect, heere it is ſaid *Credo & viues*, there it was ſaid *fac & viues*. The ſeed ſowen in the ground, it groweth firſt into the blade, next it ſhootes vp into the ſtalke, and thirdly it comes vp into the graine of corne: the ſeede of God, which is his word, it was ſowen in the heart of *Adam*, where it grew to the blade, and then being in danger to wither, the Lord did refreſh it by the *Moſaicall* law, where it brought out the ſtalke, and againe into the Goſpell it produced the perfect corne and fruit of life: ſo that he who is not a good Chriſtian, he is neither a perfect Iew, nor a perfect Philoſopher: and by the contrarie, he who is a right Iew he muſt become a right Chriſtian, they are neceſſarily complicat. The Iew was bound to fulfill the Law, but he could not, & we performe it in and by Chriſt, ſo that he can neuer performe a Iewiſh obligation, vnleſſe he be a follower of Chriſt, *omnia poſſum in Chriſto*, ſaith the Apoſtle. This is no paradox, if God be (as he is which none doe denie) *creatour of all men*, maſter and monarke of all the World, the World then muſt be one familie, one City, one kingdome of God, no earthly Prince will willingly haue diuers Lawes in one kingdome, then ſhall we thinke that God, who is wiſer then

men, and wisedome it selfe would giue seuerall lawes for the word? no, sure enough all those three be but one Law, the light whereof doth shine into the conscience of the Iew and Gentile, Turke and Pagan, Philosopher, and of the stupide multitude, *signatum est super omnes lumen vultus Domini*: whereupon it must follow, that this light is inextinguishable, it is that which we call our neuer dying conscience: when a man doth apprehend the knowledge of any thing by the vertue of his intellectuall minde it is science, and he is said *Scire*, to haue knowledge, the conscience againe is the right application and imployment of this knowledge, it is a *medium* a midst betwixt God and man, and the rule whereby we know if any thing be in the counsels of our mind, or actions of our will, contrary to this naturall light, and diuine instinct of reason, which God hath placed in our hearts like a cleere lampe to illuminate our intellectuall spirit, that it might see and discerne right from wrong, and truth from falsehood, which is a thing so manifest that the Ethnicke Philosophers, and the word of God doe iump vpon it: The naturallitie of *Cicero*, and the Theologie of Saint *Paul* concurre to proue it almost in the same termes: *Cicero* in the third Tuscuian Question writing to *Brutus*, *sunt enim ingenijs nostris semina innata virtutum, quæ si adolescere liceret, neque illa celeriter malis moribus opinionibusq; depranatis extingueremus, ipsa nos natura ad beatam vitam perduceret*: And the Apostle *Paul* writing also to the Romanes, *Quũ Gentes quæ legem non habent, naturaliter ea quæ legis sunt faciunt, eiusmodi legem non habentes, ipsi sibi sunt Lex, qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis*: It is so plaine for the light of nature (excepting alwaies the last clause of *Cicero* concerning beatitude) as if *Paul* & *Cicero* had conferred vpon it, which ground for the first, being set down in truth as your Lo: sees, I craue that you will be content to examine all the points of this Treatise by the touchstone of the diuine light & instinct of your conscience: & where your Lo: finde those, (which

as is said are inspirations from heauen) contradictory to your opinions, that in that case you will suffer your conscience to be directed by this light, which God hath giuē you to guide it by, & that your Lo: wil forbeare your pretence of deuote ignorance & *implicita fides*, things that do meerely extinguish this light of nature, if it please you to do so, & not to smother vnder a bushel this cleere candle, which God hath illuminate in your heart, there is no doubt but as *Cicero* saith, that same *Natura Dux*, the very light of Nature which hath a Diuine stampe in your conscience, shall shew you an outgate from the childish Labyrinths of superstition that doe inuolue your Lo: for if any should say to me, seeing there is such power in the instinct of naturall reason, flowing from this diuine light, how is it that so many millions of those who be indued with the same are induced to idolatrie, I can giue no other answere then the wise man hath giuen *stultorum infinitus numerus est*: the number of fooles and those who are mistaken in their owne light, is infinite.

Now I will take my first aduantage of this ground to appeale to the diuine light of your Lo: conscience, how you do iudge of that which already from so many Texts of Scripture, I haue spoken touching the plainenesse and perfection of Gods word, since on the one part the spirit of God doth testifie, that it is eternall, incorruptible, and inspired from Heauen, able to make the man of God perfect, and on the other part this intellectual light of nature seruing as eyes to receiue in our conscience, the brightnesse of this word, it is so powerfull, that very Gentiles haue cleerely knowne it: and seeing it is sufficient to conuict the conscience of Turkes, and Pagans of contempt and ignorance of this word, I aske your Lo: how shall it be with vs who beside the hauing of this light, haue beene brought vp in Christian Religion, haue beene taught Gods word, can reade it in seuerall languages, and vnderstand it, when we shall refuse to beleeue for our faith, this word preached in puritie when

we shall hold it insufficient for our Saluation, embracing in place thereof, what? an *implicita fides* an implicite faith, the colliers beliefe, and what is that? I beleeue with the Church, and how beleeues shee? she doth beleeue with the collier: is not this ambulare in *circuitu impij* as the Scripture saith, to walke in the about-gates of the wicked; well let vs remember how it shall be worse in that day with *Corazim* and *Bethsaida* then with *Sodom*, because they had greater light and did despice it; They say ignorance is the *mother of Deuotion*: And the Apostle saith: *Qui ignorat ignorabitur*, if ignorance cannot excuse a Turke, because of that light of Gods face which is stamped in his heart, let any man tell me what it can auaile a Christian to bragge of his deuout ignorance, affected ignorance is neuer a whit better then knowledge without beliefe or well doing. Let vs heere the Prophet *Isay*, my people is carried captiue, because they had no knowledge, neither is now a daies any other reason of idolatrous captiuitie, then this pretended holy ignorance, so that for a Christian man to glorie in it, it is to become *sicut equus & mulus quibus non est intellectus*. Therefore let your Lo: remember you are sealed with this *Lumen vultus Dei*, and that he hath blessed you with knowledge to vnderstand, that the holy Scriptures are a perfect and neuer perishing word.

Isai 5.

Definition of Idolatrie.

The second ground I would haue your Lo: to condescend vpon with me for preparation of your more indifferent iudgement, is a certaine definition of idolatrie which may content your Lo: and me both, to the end we may the better reason of idolatrous worship: For as concerning abuse in religion, and impietie in manners, they be triuiall points that there can be no mysterie in a surucy of the same.

Idolon is a Greeke word which literally signifieth, as much as a litle Forme, or Figure, formed or figured, but taken as it is spoken in Christian Shooles, and according to the best Doctors it is a representation of a

false

false God, and a false Deitie, or a Creature taken and honoured for God. As to say the Statue of *Moloch*, of *Iupiter*, the Sunne, or Moone, the Hebrew word *Elil*, as I read, haue very right this same signification of *Idol*, and is vsed in holy Scripture to signifie the Pagan gods, which were things false, and so nothing. *Esay* saith of Isai. 41. the gods of the Gentiles, Behold you are nothing and your wòrkes are of no worth. Vnto the which, Saint Paul alluding, Wee know, said he, that an Idol is nothing in the world: because howsoeuer it bee made of mettall, timber, or stone, yet because the falshood which it representeth is nothing, it is said to be nothing. Now so ielous is God of his honour and worship; That hee hath not only forbidden materiall images to bow down to them, but there is also spirituall Idolatry forbidden: whereof there is two sorts; The first is of these, who directly, or indirectly, haue society and company with the Diuell, and trust in him, as Sorcerers, Magitians, Witches, Consulters. The second is of those, who maintaine any erronious opinion, concerning the worship of God, or against the word of God, or who doe cherish and defend, any great and odious vice, by a displayed banner against God, as the Prophet *Samuel* 1 Srm 15. speaking of the disobedience of *Saul*: Your rebellion saith he, is the sinne of Witchcraft, and your trangression, Idolatry, the reason is because hee who doth obey God after his own fantacie, and not after Gods expresse Commandement, he doth prefer his own conceipt, and make an Idol thereof, as Saint *Ierome* in this same sense shewes, how there was oftentimes Idolatry among the Iewes when they had no materiall Idoles, as the Gentiles, saith he, worship corporall Idoles; so the Iewes hold for gods, those Idoles which they haue forged in their soules, and therefore they are Pagans and Idolaters. Saint *Austen* expounding the meaning of *Iosua* when he exhorted the Iewes newly entred in *Palestina* to put away their strange gods. It is not to be thought that

in this time the Iewes had any Pagan god, saith hee, because immediatly before he did praise their obedience, neither is it to bee thought that hee spake these wordes without cause; so it was, saith he, that the holy Prophet vnderstanding them to haue in their hearts erroneous opinions of God, contrarie to his honour, hee desired them to leaue them. Saint *Paul* doth cleerely testifie, that the auaricious man, and the glutton, be Idolaters: the one of his gold, the other of his belly, *Quorum Deus venter est.* Many were among the Philosophers, whose wisdome did neuer suffer them to worship Creatures as Idoles, yet were they spirituall Idolaters, by denying of the Resurrection, and of the immortality of the Soule, in that true eternity which God hath appointed for it. The Iewes and Turkes this day doe not worship any materiall Idol, yea they worship the same God whom we doe, yet they are Idolaters, because they doe not acknowledge him as he is a *Diuine Essence*, distinguished in three persons, but after a fantasie, deuised by *Mahomet* here, and there be the *Cabbalists*, of whom and of all such, Saint *Basil* saith, Cursed be the men who forge false imagination in their owne braines, and carry spirituall Idolatrie in their hearts. And *Gregorie Nazianzene* more plainely; How is it come, saith hee, euen to this, that euery wicked man doth make a God of his wickednesse, his filthy passions, his wrath, his murthers, his lust, and drunkennesse, and other abominable excesse. And Saint *Ierome* writing vpon *Isay* and *Hosea*, in diuers places, and *Augustine* in the City of God doth reckon monstrous numbers of false gods whom poore Gentility had forged to themselues, aswell in their fantasies as in their Temples: both which sorts of Idolatrie God hath very well forseene, and very strictly forbidden, by his precept of no grauen image in heauen aboue nor in the earth beneath, wherein, no doubt, by the heauen are meant not onely the Planeticall bodies, but imaginations of Angelicall figures to be counted of

Coloss. 3.

Isa. 2.

Orat. 2. de Theol.

vs for gods: and all intellectuall phantasies and falsehoods, contriued by humaue braine in matters of Gods worship, that they shall haue no place in our mindes: which point your Lo: sees how cleare it is. It being so then that the poore blinded Pagans, who are strangers to doctrine of holy Scripture, and kept backe from it by the lawes of Tyrants, they are thus conuicted by the Doctors of the Church, not onely for materiall Idolatrie, but euen for spirituall, through the excesse of euery predominant vice, or erroneous phantasie which did transport them, and that Saint *Augustine* introduces *Iosua* as we haue heard, exhorting the Iewes to quit their Idolatry of wrongfull opinions, I wil in like manner appeale to the diuine light of your Lo: conscience, how vigilant you thinke a good Christian must be about the points of Gods worship, or what warrant there is (this description of Idolatry admitted) first, to erect and maintain such number of images in the Popish Church. Secondly, what warrant to equall with God the power of the blessed Virgin. And lastly, and aboue all, what warrant presumptuously to affirme, that any elementarie thing is really the person of God himselfe. I vnderstand that from such grounds as bee in the Romane Church, your Lo: will giue pretended reason enough, but that is contrary to my protestation, whereby I haue tyed your Lo. to that which the Diuine instinct of your conscience doth say to you, in fauours of the meanest of those superstitions; as for the last two of them, I need not insist much, because I thinke they bee *extra controuersiam* Idolatries; But vnderstanding well, how your Lordshippe will holde for the Images, by reason of the good meaning and vse which is had of them, and from the common ground, *ab abusu ad non vsum non est argumentum*; Certainely, such fearefull abuses haue I seene, which make me to say, *alas*, wee doe not remember what a peremptorie, terrible and Iealous God hee is, in the whole order, and in the

smallest

ſmalleſt circumſtances of his worſhip, he hath ſaid hee is a *Spirit*, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit, and no other will content him; Let vs exhauſte our whole meanes, let vs diſtill our braines from neuer ſo good a meaning, to worſhip him, if our doing goe not with his owne rule, it is hatefull abomination in his eyes, and chiefly where any thing is added, or altered to the ſubſtance and Eſſence of Gods word, giuen out by himſelfe, it is Idolatry, (and which is more) in the higheſt degree, whereof that one inſtance of King *Saul* his diſobedience might ſuffice for a thouſand examples, who could haue doubted of his extraordinary good meaning, in ſparing the fat beaſtes to ſacrifice vnto the Lord: more, who would not haue imagined it ſhould approue his thankefulneſſe towards God, and yet the Prophet *Samuel* called it the ſinne of Witchcraſte, which is Idolatry in the Superlatiue degree, and for it, had denounced the renting and tranſferring of his kingdome: why? becauſe the Lord who knowes the heart of man, he did ſee that *Saul* by his addition to his Commandement did preferre his owne inuention thereunto, hunting thereby after a reputation of zeale in Gods ſeruice, and ſo honour to himſelfe; God lookes to the ſinceritie of our ſpirit, to ſee that no arrogancie be there, nor no diſcrepance from his holy will in matters of his worſhip, how many times did he caſt off his people Iſrael, becauſe of their preſumptuous confidence in religious Ceremonies, in falſe and Phariſaicall workes, becauſe of their lippe-labour, and externall ſhew of pietie, ſaying, their heart was farre from him, and that he was wearied with their tedious and lothſome ſacrifices. *Siſteterint Moſes & Samuel coram me non eſt anima mea ad populum iſtum.* Euen the beſt earthly Princes are jealous of their Maieſtie, but this God of Maieſtie he is a conſuming fire of jelouſie in points of his worſhip, he pronounced *Sauls* reprobation and ouerthrowe by *Samuel*, for that which appeared to man a light tranſgreſſion, becauſe it was a point of his Maieſtie

Maiestie and honour, but by the Prophet *Nathan* hee easily pardoned *Dauid* for his adulterie and murther, which seemed in humane eyes most hainous wickednes, because they were not points of his worship, but sinnes of weakenesse: next he looked to both their hearts, in the heart of *Dauid*, it was fleshly corruption which made him to fall, in the heart of *Saul* it was the pride of spirituall Idolatry, adding to Gods worship, thinking himselfe wiser then God, and saying to the Prophet, he had obeyed God, as it is said in the Church of Rome, that worshipping of Images is a point of Gods honour, while as it is directly contrary to his Commandement. Let all the world tremble at that strict dealing of the Lord with his good seruant *Moses*, in a point of his Commandement at the waters of Contradiction, were the Israelites did grudge: God said to *Moses* and *Aaron* that they should take vp the Rodde, and speake to the Rocke of *Rephidim* and it should yeeld waters, *loquimini ad Petram*, because he did strike the Rocke and did not vtter his speaches confidently to Gods meaning, saying distrustfully, behold rebellious, if we may bring water out of this rocke; man would imagine that there was but a *Peccadiglio*, a small fault, or none at all, yet the Lord did not onely impute it for disobedience, because thou hast not honoured me before my people (said hee) but he did punish it in most rigorous manner in mans eies, yet iustly, hee let him not enioy the fruits of his long paines in the wildernesse, preuenting him by death; saying, for this thou shalt neuer enter into the land: considering then that precise Commandement in speciall; Thou shalt make no kind of Image in heaven nor earth, nor in the waters: considering secondly the strictnesse of Gods word and will in generall, wherein *Qui cadit in syllaba cadit in toto*; And considering thirdly the greatnesse of his Iealousie, what a furious audacity is it, that we should sport with God so manifestly to preuaricate in his worship, by so many Idoles and strange inno-

cations, by twenty *Aue Maries* for one *Pater noster*, a-uowedly repugnant to his precept, presuming to excuse it, with a good meaning, and with I know not what distinctions of *Dulia* and *Latria*, as if God himselfe could not haue put downe the distinction. Certainely I thinke not onely *Moses*, but euen *Saul* had better excuses for his fault, it is no distinction will serue the turne. The Lord he is a jelous God and strict in the point of his worshippe; They are not founded vpon the *Chimeraes* of our head, but vpon his holy will, and who so pleaseth to bee homely with it, shall receiue the same doome of *Samuel* pronounced against *Saul* that his sinne is a sinne of Witchcraft. The most profound Doctor and best versed that euer hath beene in Gods Law was the Prophet *Dauid*, who speaking in his first Psalme of the iust man, *sed in lege Domini est voluntas eius*, whose delight (saith he) and will is the Law of God: which words are obserued to haue a good importance of knowledge, noting this much, that we must not wry Gods Law to our fancies, though it seeme neuer so holy and deuoute, nor to our interpretation, our will, or our delight; no, but wee must conforme our will and delight to bee in it. The Law saies, *sit irreprehensibilis Episcopus*: And must we make our owne glose to say it is a *Counsell* and not a *Commande*. The Law saies, *Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendam eam iam machatus est in corde*, shall we interpret that it is spoken to Married persons: The Law saies, *Omnis anima subdita sit superioribus potestatibus*: shall we glose it to be so long, as they gouerne vertuously? The Lawe saies absolutely thou shalt haue no kind of image to bow downe to it: Shall wee forge an exposition with our friuolous distinctious, as if God did sophisticate with vs in the directions of his owne worship: truely by this sort of doing, *Lex est in tua voluntate, non autem tua voluntas in Lege*, The Lawe of of God is in your will and not your will in the Lawe: therefore *Dauid* himselfe did not onely presse to keepe

the

the Law, but kept in his heart also Gods own pure meaning in the Law, *In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua*: He not only obeyed the Law, but he obeyed it by the right way of obedience, *Viam mandatorum tuorū cucurri*. For who knowes not this to be true, *quod iniustus potest facere iusta, sed non iuste*, that an vniust man may doe a iust act but not iustly. Therefore wee must not only obserue Gods precepts according to his owne word precisely, but which is more, we must doe it as Saint *Paul* saith, *Ex corde puro & conscientia non ficta*, for this is to doe iust things iustly, *facere secundum substantiam operum & secundum intentionem Legislatoris*, to doe the substance expressely of that which is commanded, and to doe it after the manner and meaning of him who did command it. Out of these it did appeare by the diuine light of reason, that the worshipping of images in the Popish Church, must bee indeede Idolatry, regarded chiefelie as they are, which I will shortly tell your Lordshippe.

All the while I was in *France*, my minde was busied in taking pleasure in those exteriour shewes so gracious to my senses, and neuer seene of me before, that I tooke no leasure to lift vp the vaile which was so delicatly painted, that I might see what poysoned and deadly hookes lay hidden vnder such pleasant baites, reserving my chiefe curiositie to haue her contentment in the famous Citie of *Rome*, a place most proper for true discouery, and chiefest Theater of the world for knowledge of things, from the which no mysterie can remaine vnseene, of one who hath ingine and dexterity to explore it. For agitation of great Counsels, it is like the *Primum Mobile*, which in his *Motu rapto*, carries with him the inferiour orbes, so it is the maine spheare that moues many States in Christendome, that beside their owne naturall course, they are shaken by a violent and contrarie motion thereof, as miserable experience doth daily declare; thither went I about this kinde of

exploration, to know truth by falshood; But I protest so free yet from preiudice against *Rome*, that, all in contrarie, so desirous I was to see that truth in Religion, that piety in manners, that vpright holinesse euery way which hath beene reported to me, that I might say with the Prophet, *Sicut Cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita anima mea sicut terra sine aqua*, my heart did boile in these desires, as drie grounds thirsting for raine, and the Deere after fresh fountaines; and while it was so yet, I must speak to the truth of Gods glory, which is the scope of all this Treatise: I did no sooner feele the ayre of *Italy*, then I begunne to smell there, with an apprehension of tyrannous Idolatrie, in such manner that the practises which I did see there, compared with that which I had seene in *France*, by the Professors of that same Religion, they represented to my minde the fashions of ancient Gentilisme; the things I was earnestly bent to search, were chiefely these: The power of their Miracles, whether they were true things, or impostures and deceipts, as their enemies did affirme. Secondly, the weight of the Pope his dispensations, and indulgences, whether they were such impious traficke thereabout, as was also alleaged. Thirdly, the condition of their Cloisterall life, and whether it were polluted with such abominable filthinesse, as is pretended by others, who call *Rome* a *Sodome*, a *Babilon*. Lastly, the strength of the Pope his Soueraignetie as it is now vsurped ouer temporall Princes and States, and from what warrant they could depend.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A relation of the lewde and impudent superstitions of Rome, and of the ridiculous miracles which be pretended thereunto.

AS for the working of miracles, together and at once shall a man see the falsehood of that, and the truth of idolatrous worship, and both in such lewde open and impudent manner, that it seemes to me the first miracle in the World, how such trumperies should be so long believed: For as true Religion hath the owne corruption by reason of our corruption, so euerie superstition hath the owne periods, as experience from time to time hath taught. So soone as I entered in Lumbardy at Turine the seat of the Sauoiard, it was told me there, that the Duke had lately arriued from a Pilgrimage of *Loret*, & that the Prince his son, was at the Pilgrimage of *nostra donna de mondenie*.

And were to be seene from that towards Rome great multitudes of people, going to diuers Churches of the Saints in diuers parts of the Countrey, chiefly in Loret and with such familiar, and affronted idolatry, that if that one did see the Chappell of our Lady in his horyson, presently he went to his knees although in the midst of a puddle, to pray to that image namely of that place, auowing that same image to be lately become a great worker of miracles, & that he himself had frequent reuelations & comforts from the same: this sort of discourse with such like fabulous traditions of Saints, receiued from their predecessors, was only to be heard in those voyages, except it should be (for recreation) some rare act of Ribaldrie, out of *Pogius* or *Arretine*, and perhaps two imitated in that holy iourney of deuotion, where it was not strange to see both the Priest and the whore

whore lodge together all night: I speake the truth, such paines did I endure about these matters, out of a curiositie to see some myraculous sight, as I may be ashamed to relate, going many myles on foot (for obseruation of the rite) to the danger of my health and perpetuall hurt of my complexion, visiting the most famous Chappels and Churches for miracles, on their owne holie-daies, where great concurse of people was, many stigmaticke and diseased persons, priests, exorcists, deuotion, almes, with great promises of wounders to be seene: but O how I did pittie to see the ridiculous birth of those swelling mountaines, to see how farre, *minuit præsentia famam*. I did in particular see in Saint *Peters* Church at Rome, that *Cathedra Petri* pretended to ease women in the time of their birth, by applying to them a girdle which hath touched this chaire, I did see in that same Church, that Pillar of marble said to be the same vnto the which our Sauiour was tied to be scourged, and now vsed to dispossesse Demoniacke persons: I did see the practicke of that Chappell in Rome called *nostra donna de monte*, renowned lately for her emulation with Loret. I did see at Venice vpon the owen day, that blood pretended to be of our Sauiour, in the Church called the Friery, which no Demoniacke person can endure to looke vpon as they say. I did see another like to that in Naples, and in the *Regno nostra Donna de gli angeli*, where lyeth the body of Saint *Francis* the elder: I did see in Lombardie *Nostra Donna de Regge* highly esteemed for miracles, diuers in Millane. That of Piamont, *de mondenis*, That *Nostra Donna* betwixt *Genoua* and *Marsilia* said to deliuer many from rapine and Turkish Pyrats, I did see in Prouence at Saint *Maximo* the body of *Mary Magdalene*: I did see in the Land of Iais in Swetzerland that called S^t. *Clowes* talked of for myracles also, And lastly I did see that archi pilgrimage of Loret it selfe. To all those I did repaire in solemne times, but what did I see? two things as I haue said, fearefull idolatry, and a base contemptible trade

of

of forged miracles maintained by incredible stupidity, and blindenesse of besotted people, as it were with the drinke of some new *Circe*, in such sort that I cannot tell how often I called to minde that ground of Machauell in his politicks *de Repub.* whereby, in setling of great states, he doth ascribe more to popular ignorance and simplicitie and to the power of Superstition, then to whatsoeuer lawes or stately policies besides, preferring *Numa*, and his contriued Religion, with his fained *Goddesse Aegeria*, vnto the armes and painfullnesse of *Romulus*, which opinion it seemed to me he did conceiue by his contemplation of the Christian superstitions of his time: For certainly there is nothing in antiquitie which hath beene better followed by these of succeeding ages, then the ancient gentilisme of Rome appeares to be renued by the folish idolatry of these daies: it is so notorious that I neede not to be tedious in bringing forth examples, only this, the Romane History doth tell vs that the Statesmen of old were able to leade the popular to what they would by an augure, diuination, or presages in Religion, which it pleased them to deuise, and I say that now a daies a forged reuelation of our Lady, a pretended myracle accompanied with a Bull from the Pope, is able to effectuate as much: In Ethnick Rome in her beginning, her chiefe Senators grudging against the virtuous and watchfull raigne of *Romulus* their King, they did secretly murther him, making the people to beleeue that he was rauished to the Heauens, and *relatus inter Diuos*; and the Iesuites this day, who be the first Senators and Counsellors of the Court of Rome, fearing the superintendencie of Christian Princes ouer her pride, who are deputed by God to be Fathers of his Church, they haue vented a pernitious Doctrine through out the World, authorising the slaughter of Kings, making people beleeue that it is a Doctrine from Heauen, and an act meritorious before God. In Ethnick Rome *Numa* by his pretended secretie with the goddesse *Aegeria*, procured

cured the popular acceptation of his fond and foolish superstitions, and the Iesuites this day by their pretended priuity with the blessed Virgine, they haue bewitched multitudes of people with false beliefe in points of Doctrine neuer heard of before. Ethnicke Rome in her beginning, being resolued for her grandure and encrease, to transplant the Town of Alba, to be incorporated with her selfe, because the fortune had fallen so in the combat betwixt the brethren *Horatij* and *Curiatij*. The Albans did withstand it from a religious reuerence vnto their Gods, vntill a craftie Romane demanding their chiefe Idoll, *vis venire Romam*, did answere, *quod annuit Dea*, that she did becken with her head in token of her consent: And the honest Albans did beleeue it, holding it for a Diuine oracle for their coniunction with Rome. And I did see at *nostra Donna de Reggo* in Lumbardie, where there is a portract of our Lady lately found, olde and defaced, but esteemed myraculous: a gentleman, who in my presence did affirme, that in time of the Masse the image did moue her countenance, albeit I who also looked on, could perceiue no such thing: and many Images in Italie, are said to haue spoken at diuers times. Ethnicke Rome in their conquests, they did still obserue this trick, to transport to their Pantheon, the Gods of euery conquered Countrey, & what else doth Rome now, neither altering the forme of that Temple Pantheon, nor in effect the name, calling it *Omnium Sanctorum*, of all Saints; of olde the receptacle of all Gentile Gods, and now the station of all forged Gods in Christianitie: Briefely it semes to me the Gentiles did no other then they doe, to take Idols in Gods place, wil we say the Gentiles embraced many Gods, for the true God; all is one, if it were so, but contrarily there was neuer Philosopher nor wise man among the Gentiles, who did not acknowledge, that one only great God, and the immortallity of Soules (suppose he knew not how) were for opinions of state, the arch-pillers of good pollicie, and good manners:

ners: That pluralitie of Gods, was but craftily obtruded vpon the popular, to illude them for misteries of gouernment. Let any man reade *Cicero*, in that which he writes *de natura Deorum*. Let vs consider how *Socrates* gaue his life for that opinion, that there was but one God: How *Plato* doth establish the vnity of one God with admirable conceptions of the blessed Trinity, how the Poet *Iuuenal* doth mock that base and senseless ignorance of the pluralitie of Gods among the Egyptians, and how the yong *Lucan* speaketh Diuinely of the immortalitie of the soule in the death of *Pompey*: In all which things one shall see preferment of happinesse after this life granted to good and vertuous soules, by those Poets and Philosophers: So that in the point of Images, we are as guiltie as the Gentiles, and equally idolatrous, they did acknowledge as we doe, one omnipotent God: And for the like good endes as be propounded in the Popish Church for Images, had they the pluralitie of Gods, that is to say to be the Bookes of the people, to be the instruments of deuotion, order, and obedience, if we will say the common people among the Gentiles esteemed a Deitie in the Idoll, I replie that Christians now a daies do it much more, because I haue proued it to be so, a hundred times, first how can we say it is abuse or ignorance popular, that causeth Idolatrie, for it is not only the multitude that holdeth the reall presence in the Sacrament of the Alter, and whether it be idolatrous to doe so, and to affirme that a peece of *bread* is that blessed body of whom the holy Scripture saith *in quo habitat corporaliter omnis plenitudo Diuinitatis*.

Secondly we cannot say, that by vulgar abuse but by expresse authoritie, the *Virgine* is in all their prayers encalled in the proper termes of God, *Sauiouresse, Goddesse: fons misericordiæ, fons salutis & gratiæ, salus omnium in Te sperantium*, which no doubt is to wrong that holy virgine to vsurpe her name, to derogate from the worship of God: thirdly, touching Images, I know your

Lo: will say howsoeuer there be abuses in them, yet the Popish Church doth not approue it: and if it were so, the strong abuses which be, are reason enough, why to condemne them: but it is other waies & the Doctrine of Rome doth authorise in matter of Images, both falsehood and abuse, & I shew it thus: Our prayers are heard and regarded of God, not for the qualitie of our words which are but a sounding, and as imbassadors to carry our suplications, but they are heard for the disposition of our heart, as God himselfe hath said this people is full of babling but their heart is farre from me, therefore I will not heare them. Now God himselfe hath said of himselfe, that he is only *Cardiognostes*, only searcher of the raines, and vnderstander of the heart: whereupon I ground my argument.

That which may lawfully be prayed vnto, doth know the secrets of the heart,

But the Church of Rome teacheth, I may pray to the Image of our Lady in Loretto,

Ergo, The Church of Rome teacheth, that an *Image* knoweth the secrets of the heart.

And that againe is meere falsehood, because it is only propper to God to know the heart; heere againe, I know it will be answered that it is not the image, *sed quod numen ibi est præsentius*, and I reply if it were so, is not that truely to put a Deitie into the person of our Lady, to make her know the secret hearts of milions of people, who at one time be prostrate before her in diuers clymats of the world and for diuers causes, which in like manner is both false and impossible: But I say that the people holdeth that the image it selfe in Loret, doth heare more, grant more, worke more then any other whatsoeuer, and than the operatiue vertue is in the image, because the person of our Lady is but one thing like to it selfe at all times, and not diuers, I tell this to your Lo: out of experience, which is most sure of any thing, and I appeale to the Diuine light of your Lo. con-

conscience, whether you do not thinke that *Plato, Socrates, Cicero, Iuuenal, Lucan*, would not haue esteemed this to be idolatry? which is ordinarily practised there, with such strange and stronge confidence, of bewitched people, that, (to speake of myracles, & their ridiculous falsehood) God knowes there is no sort of common disease of mens persons, no sort of common dangers that be both vniuersall and quotidian through the whole world, which this brutish blindnes doth not ascribe to a miracle of one image or other, to the staining of Gods good Saints in Heauen, whose names are by these meanes abused, to colour the false and idolatrous worship of the Creatour. If a woman escape the danger of child-birth, if a man a burning ague, or a tempest upon the Sea, or the hands of Brigandes, if his horse fall to the earth with him, and numbers of such euents as come to passe sometimes by a mans owne skill, and foresight, sometimes by Physitians, sometimes by naturall alterations, and still by Gods ordinary prouidence, they are all reputed for myracles, and their badges set vp in the Chappels of those images, whom these fond fooles imagine to to haue donne it, so that hardlie can one finde an emptie place in such Chappels to receiue the vowed guifts, and donations of so many as come daily to offer tokens of such miracles done to them: Of which sort I haue seen *vsq; ad nauseam*, euen to make a man distast them: but I affirme, that God neuer vouchsafed me the honor to see a true working of a miracle within the Church of Rome, but by the contrary. I was astonished to beholde such frensie of superstition, blinding the wits of the most vnderstanding people in Christendome, oftentimes repeating to my selfe the words of the Apostle: *Insensati, quis vos fascinauit, O nimium faciles ad illudendum!* For howsoeuer we be of corrupted nature inclined to superstitious vanities, yet to see the best spirits of men so captiuate, and of those who know the Histories of Gentilisme and Ethnicke Idolatrie, who can put difference

betwixt rude and ignorant times, and times of light and knowledge: what is all I say? as men grow to age, we say they grow to wisedome, that the very age and experience of the world, and this greater light then Gentiles had, should not suffice to saue men from the like superstitions to gentilisme, it seemeth very strange, the like I say, for change but on Idoll, and what difference is betwixt Loret and Delphos, change more Idols and what betwixt Pantheon and *Omnium Sanctorum*: For as for the substance of Idolatry, which is a people credulous, blind, superstitious, aboue measure, *sicut equus & mulus quibus non est intellectus*, vsurping numbers of creatures in place of the Creator, if we shall paralell those ancient Times of Gentilisme with the superstitions of Italie now, euen as old men become twise Children, so one would iudge, that by the like dotage, the world is fallen into her second Childehood, which is more childish then the first: for to auouch for myracles, the ordinary and quotidian chances of the world, it is worse then to beleeue that famous Rapsodie of the *Legendaries*, whereof it is wonderfull that they should finde a reporter setting a side the beleeuer. Alway touching this point I will ingeniously confesse to your Lo: how it was vpbraided to my selfe at Rome, that I was *modicæ fidei* in the behalfe of miracles. One day brought to looke vpon some exorcisme, to be done at the aforesaid Pillar in Saint *Peters*, and in the end being demanded by a learned man, what was my iudgement of that which I had seene, I said I was satisfied but that no heretike would haue beene much mooued with that matter as it went: he did reply with some pickquant and sharpe words, *Aristotle* shewes, said he, that euery man is not *Idoneus Auditor Philosophiæ*, Fooles, ideots, base and mechanike minded; those who be subiect to pregnant vices, and such are debarred, so said he your heretickes are not *Idonei* spectatores of holy acts, because they are vnfaithfull. It is written of our Sauiour said he in *Matthew*, that he might not doe miracles in Nazareth

non

Non potuit, because in the iustice of God, that cannot be done, which ought not to be done: but to doe miracles in Nazareth by reason of their contempt and vnbeliefe, it was *dare sanctum canibus*, to cast pearles before Swine; He told me that text of *Isai*, *nisi credideritis non intelligetis*, Saying, the punishment of Heretickes was like vnto that of the Pharises, who came to Christ demanding miracles, they did misbeleeue and vvere scandalized in the holy actions of Christ: *Scandalizabantur in eo*, saith the Apostle, and so be all those who haue no faith, as the Prophet writes of him, *Erit in Petram scandali & in lapidem offensionis*: and as hee himselfe hath said in the Gospell, *Beatus qui non fuerit scandalizatus in me*, so said he, if you will bee a true spectator of holy misteries, you must take heed that you be not *modicæ fidei*, for that is to be scandalized in Christ, which pithy speeches I confesse did sincke so farre in my heart, that they moued me many times after, to search with my selfe how farre I might, or ought to be tyed to the beliefe of miracles, wherein, what I haue concluded to thinke by the information of the more learned, I will shortly tell it to your Lo: to the effect that out of the abuse we may make our good and right vse. Isai 9. Isai 8.

First, I thinke it is no error to hold that onely God, and no man can worke true miracles, Christ because he is both God and man, had the inherent power to doe whatsoeuer miracles hee pleased, and whensoeuer hee pleased, but none other, either Man or Angel had the like. The Prophet *Dauid* saith, *Tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus*: And there is nothing more true, *Qui solus legem naturæ alicui fas iustituit, ille solus potest illam tollere*: God onely may change the course of nature, because God only did institute the same. *Moses*, *Elias*, *Elizeus* Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul*, did all true miracles, but not they, but God in them, as Saint *Peter* testifies in the *Acts*, speaking of the Iewes who were astonished at his miracles, why, said he, marvell yee at vs, as though *The true end of Miracles.* Psalm. 17.

by our power we had made this Cripple to walke ; The
Acts 3. God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Iacob*, and the name of *Iesus*, whom you haue killed, hath made him sound. Alwaies to reason a little of it, it appeares that either by their faithfull praiers God was mooued to worke those miracles, or there was in them some operatiue vertue of that kind subordinate to the Diuine power, as into the workes of nature all second causes depend vpon the first and supreme cause : if wee say that such vertue was in them, it seemes contrarie to the words of *Dauid*, *Qui solus facis*, if we say they had not this power, it seemes against the common phrase of the holy Scripture : *Peter* or *Paul* did raise the dead, restore sight to the blind, and such other miracles : therefore I say, that to doe
1 Cor. 12. miracles, it is *gratia gratis data* : a grace freely granted of God, as is the gift of Prophesie, according to Saint *Paul*, and as the Saints by their praiers haue entreated God to grant them the reall gift of Prophesie, so no doubt, the faith and praiers of the Saints haue obtained from God, for the good of his owne people, to bee instruments and workers of Miracles : and as the gift of Prophesie was not a constant and habituall vertue resident in their persons, by the which they might Prophesie when they would : As we see in *Elizeus*, who beeing once demanded of the king vpon a secret, *Dominus inquit, celauit a me* : the Lord hath hidden it from mee,
Regum 4. when King *Dauid* was bidden by the Prophet to build the Lords Temple, because God was with him in euery thing, the same Prophet did forbid him the morrow after, confessing that he had spoken without Gods priuity, and therefore falsely : so that the gift of Prophesie is a transient passion, as is the power of miracles, which is not neither permanent, but as the Sawe hath a vertue to cut a sunder, not at all times, but when the Crafteſman putteth his hand to it. This extraordinary gift was not onely not granted habitually, but it was granted to a fewe in number, and that in the beginning chiefely of Iewish

Iewish and Christian religion, for establishment of faith in the world, which was then bewitched with Ethnicke Idolatry, strenghthned with Diabolical miracles, so that God well knew, *Quod contrarijs curantur*, by the true miracles of his holy spirit, wrought by diuers of his good Saints to the astonishment of people, he did discredit the spirit of Satan, and that was done in the beginning to purchase authority to the faith, as our Sauiour saith, *Si mihi non vultis credere, operibus credite, sic opera non fecissem quæ nemo alius vnquam fecit peccatum non haberent.* But after the word of God and his Lawe hath beene once established and receiued, as it was answered to the Rich man in the Gospel, *Moysen habent & Prophetas*, and therefore they might not looke for one to come from the dead, who had the holy Scripture to look vpon: euen so we, after so many miraculous works done by our Sauiour and his Apostles, for confirmation of our faith, and after the Gospell left in perfection by the Spirit of God, and embraced of the Gentiles for eternall veritie; we are no more to depend vpon miracles, as Christ himselfe testified after the doing of all these; *Scrutamini Scripturas quia ille testimonium perhibent de me.* There is no doctrine more true then this, that miracles haue beene onely appointed of God, for the aforesaid vse, for of themselues they are neither necessarie nor sufficient for saluation; The *Canaanites* and the Thiefe vpon the Crosse they did beleeue without miracles, and he himselfe hath saide, Blessed are they who beleeue and haue not seene: so as they are not necessarie. Againe, *Pharoh* did see a number of miracles, and was euer the more hardened, which makes that they are not sufficient. Is it not then a great vanity that the Church of *Rome* should arrogate vnto her, that power, which God thought not necessarie to leaue to his Church, Yea, and which he foresaw to be dangerous by reason of the weakenesse of humane wisdome, to discerne betwixt true and false miracles; what was it

Iohn 15. 10.

Iohn 5.

that

that did indure the heart of *Pharoh?* vvant of beleefe in God no doubt, but herewith also, want of knowledge to discerne betwixt *Mosaicall* and *Magicall* miracles, so that the leauing of this to the Church had beene an ambush to catch men, and lead them to Idolatry and the service of Satan, testified plainly by the Scipture; The Prophet
Ierem.23. saith, *Seduxerunt Populum meum in miraculis mendacibus.*
Matth.24. And in the Apostle, *Surgent pseudo Christi & pseudo Prophetæ: Dabunt signa magna & prodigia in populum, ita vt in errorem inducantur etiam Electi si fieri potest.* How many shall say of those Prophets, *in Nomine tuo prophetauimus, Demonia eiecimus.* How mightely did *Simon Magus* deceiue the multitude so desirous of miracles, and so ignorant of them: *Vir quidam Simon Magus seducebat Ciuitatem Samariæ quem auscultabantur omnes a minimo ad Summum, dicentes hic est virtus Dei qui vocatur magna eò quod multo tempore magicis suis signis demouisset eos.* The looking for miracles is a token of Iewish & vnbeleeuing hearts, *Signa non sunt data fidelibus sed infidelibus,* saith the Apostle. Therefore they are most proper to the incredulous Synagogue of the Iewes, for the which cause aboue all the other Apostles, so great power of miracles was giuen to Saint *Peter*, the Apostle of the Iewes, that he did heale the strongest diseases with his shadow, which not onely was neuer done by none of his fellow Apostles, but we doe not read the like of Christ himself, *Iudæi signa petunt, Gentes sapientiam quærunt,* saith *Paul.* Secondly, is it not more then madnesse in the Church of *Rome*, by arrogating vnto her this perpetuitie of miracles which God hath made onely temporarie and personall in the beginnings, shee doth manifestly cloth her selfe with those markes whereby the Spirit of God doth point forth the Antichrist. Let vs heare Saint
2 Thes.2. *Paul, Reuelabitur iniquus ille cuius aduentus erit secundum operationem Satanæ in omni virtute signis & prodigijs mendacibus: & omni seductione iniquitatis his qui pereunt:* And the Spirit of God in the *Apocal:* speaking of that second

Beast

Beast which had two hornes like to a Lambe, and spake like a Dragon: *Edetque Signa magna adeo vt faciat ignem e Cœlo discendere in conspectu hominum, & seducet Incolas* Apoc. 13. *Terra propter signa qua datum est ei vt faciat in conspectu Bestiæ*: In which places as we see this Traffique of Miracles is plainely called, *Operatio Satanæ*, and a seduction of those who must perish. By these I doe appeale vnto the diuine light of your Lordships conscience, whither you doe not thinke that we ought to content our selues with *Moses*, the Prophets and Apostles, following Christs owne precept *Scrutamini Scripturas*, to search the Scriptures, for the doctrine of Saluation, and to contemne this ridiculous and impious profession of pretended Miracles: I appeale to your Lordship, as you will be answerable to him who hath said of that light which he hath giuen you: *Est lux vera quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum*, Whether you do not thinke that those who in this *Sunne shine* of Gods word, would ground their beliefe vpon Miracles, doe not iustly merite that answere of Christ to the Scribes and Pharises, demanding miracles, *Generatio mala & adultera signum quærit*, and whither you Lordship doe not hold all those who beleeue such poore and childish conceits bee not iustly giuen ouer to themselues as the Apostle saith, *vt credant mendacio qui non crediderunt veritati.*

So I will conclude this point of Miracles and Idolatrous worship with two short obseruations, first for that exteriour splendor and shew of Religion by so many pilgrimages, holy dayes and festiuall euenings and others deuoute like exercises which doe blind simple people, I say it is the common marke and make both of Idolatrous seruice, the very pretended zeale and holy pretext of *Balaam* when he came to sacrifice vpon the mount of *Balaac*, did bewray his Treacherie, he cryed to build him seuen altars, while as *Abraham* who was so faithfull & sincere a sacrificer, that the Spirit of God doth honor him with this Testimonie, *Abraham beleeued the Lord, and it*

was imputed to him for Righteousnesse: the first father of all the faithfull when hee went vnto the mount to offer his sonne *Isaac*, hee did content himselfe with one Altar, knowing how it is one Altar only that doth please God, and what is that? & what is the sacrifice? the Altar of our heart prouiding it bee in vprightenesse and faith, the immolation of contrite and faithfull prayers, as the Prophet *David* saith (contrary to *Balaam*, who would haue no lesse then seuen Altars) *Quoniam si voluisses sacrificium dedissem, otiq; holocaustis non delectaberis, Sacrificium Deo est spiritus contribulatus*: So that it is ordinary to false worship to cloake and couer their deuotion with more specious shewes then are commanded by the word, or vsed by simple or true Professors, because as the Italian saith, *Per coprir vn gran mal bisogna vn gran mantello*, there is need of a side cloake to hide a great euill. Secondly I say, of such opinion maintained of miracles and popular credulitie, as it was in Gentilisme said by *Numa Pompilius*, *Patres consilio valere decet, populo superuacanea est calliditas*: The fathers of states should be wise, and subtile, but the people simple: so it is now said in Christian superstitions, that *ignorance is the mother of Deuotion*, & that Apocrypha speeth of *Esdra*, *Haec narrabis Populo, & haec abscondes*, holden for good Scripture, it is the speciall Stratagem whereby the diuell doth leade men into the snares of idolatry to crie for miracles, and to depend vpon them: They haue bene only ordained by God to beat and breake downe the hardnesse of infidelitie in the first plantation of the faith, *Moses* and *Aaron* were strong in miracles, but the Israelites did no sooner come to the borders of Canaan, then they lost the light of their fierie pillar which conueyed them to it; they had no sooner passed Iordan, then the Manna ceased to raine downe foode vpon them. These extraordinarie things were to comfort and confirme them in the wildernesse, the vnspeakeable wisedome of God knowes that a custome of miracles working, were to make vs vilipend his most glo-

rious

rious miracles: So as we must say that as he had beene a senceleſſe Iewe, who would haue refuſed to goe forward into Canaan, becauſe hee wanted the pillar to conuey him, and the Manna to feede him, euen ſo muſt wee eſteeme him a fooliſh Chriſtian, who being entered into the cleere light of Chriſts Goſpel, becauſe he ſees not the power of miracles which in the beginning of that Chriſtian Progreſſe was granted to Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, for conducting of the firſt beleeuers through the wildernes of Gentiliſme, or of Phariſaicall pride, and for comforting them to reiect ſtoutly the yoake of their ſpirituall *Pharaoh*, becauſe of this he will refuſe to be guided by the Arke of Gods word, wherein are comprehended the whole myſteries of his law, and without the which there is no way to the heauenly Canaan, certaine he muſt bee counted more then mad.

CHAP. IIII.

The impeirtie of Papall Indulgences, the open Pollution of the celibate, and other pregnant vices of Rome, againſt the credit of all Chriſtian profeſſion.

I Come next to ſpeake of that which I did obſerue touching Indulgence, and diſpenſation, wherein I neede not to be tedious and longſome, the caſe being ſo notorious, onely ſummarily and truely relate to your Lordſhip, of things which I did ſee, three or foure, that did moſt ſpecially offend me. There can be no more ſaid concerning this abuſe now adayes, then our fore beeres haue ſaid many yeares agoe, *Omnia venalia Romæ*: and certainly no leſſe, if we ſhould ſpeake vprightly: That is to ſay Rome is a common ſtaple of Pardons for all the ſinnes and crymes that can be committed, and thoſe ſold at ſo high a rate, which is the reaſon why one ſhould

thinke the *Camerade Componendis*, within Saint *Peter* Palace one of the richeſt houſes in Chriſtendome. This mooued a fine ieſt in a certaine German, who hauing ſome diſpenſation to purchaſe at Rome, which he look't to haue granted to him *gratis*, but finding an ordinance on the backe of it for paiment of one hundred Ducats, tooke a penne and blotted out the date wherein was ſaid *Datum Romæ*, putting in the place of it *Emptũ Romæ* ſwearing, that becauſe they had liberty of Conſcience in Germanie, that he would rather take it vpon his libertie, then buy it ſo dearely. I did ſee their diuers Monaſteries or Conuentuall houſes of religious perſons, wherein liue great numbers, which houſes bee no way endued with rents nor prouided, but only referred to voluntary charitie: for helpe whereof, the Pope doth grant them ſome priuiledged Altars, with extraordinary Indulgences, and a peculiar Feſtiuall day, vpon the which, thither the whole people reſorteth, but chiefely profligat and debauſhed perſons: as, Whoores, Bawdes, idle Raſcalls, Charlatanes Cooſoners, who for the offring of ſome groſſe almes, bring back with them ſo many Pardons of ſinnes, ſo many ſoule Maſſes by redemption from Purgatory: indoring which time of the Viſitation of this Altar, the people entring at one dore, and iſſuing out at an other, all the day long, without intermiſſion, there is no other voyce to be heard at the firſt port, but calling out aloud, *Fate vna belliſſima diuotione*: Make, Sirs, a braue deuotion, by the which is meant, to giue a fat Offering. Conferring this voyce with that which is to bee heard in their *Camerade componendis*, it reſembleth in my eares that cry of the two Daughters of the Horſe-leech, mentioned in the *Prouerbs* of *Solomon*, *Duæ ſunt ſanguiſugæ filiæ quæ ſemper clamant affer, affer*: all which deuotion conſiſteth in the multitude of thoſe who bought the Pardons, being ſo vnder the name of Religious exerciſe, a Trade of abominable impietie: for while I was curious to aske the Prieſts of thoſe Altars, vpon the importance of their priuiledges,

ges; I did receiue no other answere, but what was once graunted by the Pope was absolutely good and effectuall for all. Againe, I saw this, which fell foorth during my being there: The Duke of *Neuers* came there in great and glorious state, extraordinar Ambassador from the *French* King to the Pope, who, according to the custome of that Seat, with such personages, did graunt him Indulgences very large and bountifull, that one would haue thought the ports of hell was not able to preuaile against them: and when the Dukes Medalls and Beads came to be blessed vpon the Popes Altar, according to the forme, there was no famous Whore in *Rome* who had not also numbers put in for her, saying, (which I haue heard with mine eares) The *French* Indulgences should procure them both *English* and *Spanish* money. This kinde of Marchandise and publike sale of sinnes is vsed in so lewd and vile a manner, that the most simple man in the world would count it to bee a scuruie ridiculous inuention of insatiable auarice. During my being at *Rome*, there hapned to dye there a rich *Venetian* Merchant, who left in Legacy a good summe of money to that Church, standing vpon the *Monte di Trinita*, for celebration of his Funeralls, and seruices for his soule, the same day which was appointed for those Funerall Offices, I did finde my selfe soone in the morning vpon that Mount, because it is a fresh and delectable walke, when a number of *Fryers*, with great Torches, comming to enter into the Church, was demanded of a Gentleman of *Rome*, who was beside me, whither they did goe? to whom one of them did answere, *Andiamo cauare del purgatorio L'anima di quel mercadante Venetiano chi morse l'altro iorno*: which is to say, translated sincerely we go to hale out of Purgatory the soule of that *Venecian* Merchant, who died the last day. The Gentlemã replied in bitter speech against the Pope, calling him *Cuillone*, & *Morbidotto*, which be ignominious & contẽptible words, because (saith hee) hee doth not keepe in Purgatory to

the worlds end all those wretched soules of *Venice*, who doe so disturbe the Apostolike Seat: for it was in the meane time of those late broyles betwixt the Pope and the *Venetians*. Can any iest in the world be more worthy of derision? then this or any thing more like the pittifull Idolatry of the Gentiles, where the Priests made the senslesse people to thinke there was no way to make their gods propitious, but by their rich Offerings. This sort of doing is so frequent there, that we see no other businesse: and if it be true which they hold, *Quel che fa sua santita è fatto*, that which the Popes Holinesse doth, is done, certaine all those of those Countries must bee in heauen before their feete be cold, as wee say, because the most wicked and godlesse among them neuer departeth this life, but laden with Pardons. And this farre I thinke is enough to proue, that the abuse is not onely authorised, but as it were married with Religion, seeing vpon the meanes thereof they doe found Cloystrall societies. And this onely speaking *de facto*, for to reason *De iure*, these are practised, it is Theologicall, alwaies the most learned among them haue said to me touching the Popes power, *Il nostro signore è dio sopta la terra*, Our Lord the Pope he is God vpon earth, hee may dispence what hee will: Yea (say they) if the question were to marry the King of *Spaine* to an hereticall Princesse, the Pope will first dispense him to marry his owne Sister. Is not this to goe aboue the power of God, who hath said of his holy Law, that a iot thereof shall not perish nor be changed? Well, to vrge Theologicall Arguments I will not, but I remit your Lordship to search the Scriptures, to see who it is there that doth sit in the Church of God, and exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God. And now I appeale to the diuine light of your Lordships conscience, whether you doe not thinke that the contemplation of so grosse things; first, such Ethnicke Idolatry, that while *Paul* and *Barnabas* being aliue, did teare their cloathes, and runne vpon the people, because they would haue adored

Dan. 11. 2. Thes. 2.

dored them, saying, they were but men like vnto themselues. Now so much adoration must bee done to the Statues of their dead bodies, that one shall not enter within Saint *Peters* Church at *Rome*, but we must kneele to salute him where hee sits in brasse, we must lay our head vnder his feete, and kisse euery one of his toes (euerally. Then such impious and base auarice in this trade of Purgatory and Indulgences, that in their *Camera de Componendis* there sitteth *Simon Magus*, vnder the name of *Simon Peter*, making sale of the Spirit of God for money, of the mercies of God, of remission of sinnes, and the Kingdome of heauen, and that with such insatiable hands, that if euer I, who came from a remote Countrey to honour the Apostolicall Seat, would giue him largely for dispensation, hee would willingly embrace it, as who knowes what I did pretend: to bee the more assured, I appeale to your Lordships conscience, whether you thinke those were not sufficient to breede doubts of Religion in any man, in whom God hath left a sparke of his feare, or one graine of right knowledge. Assuredly they mooued me to great iealousie, and they were to me (as the first sight of the Angell was to the poore Asse of *Balaam*) terror albeit (I confesse sincerely) the strong opinion which I had drunken so long before, & the plausible shew of things, did for a while violently hold me into the same way, as *Balaam* did force his Asse to goe on, after the first sight of the Angell.

But when I begun to looke vpon the manners of the people, and to consider what were the faults which were so ordinarily and easily pardoned (which is the third thing in number of those which I most narrowly obserued) what shall I say? I know not how to speake the trueth, and therewith to prouide that my penne be not slandered for contumelies and Philippicke passions, alwayes I shall so limitate my selfe, that I shall not blot so graue a purpose with an humour of rayling or shamelessenesse: In the day of visitation and punishment, I shall beginne

The Manners of Rome.

beginne at my sanctuary, saith the Lord, and wherefore is this? because *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*, as the Prelates be, so are the people, the example of the Rulers makes the manners of the multitude, as the Spi-
Dan.11. rit of God doth testifie by the Prophet *Daniel*, *Egressa est iniquitas à Senioribus & ab ijs qui videbantur regere populum*: Iniquitie hath gon out from the Elders and those who seemed to gouerne the people: For this cause in a iust censure of the manners of Rome, it cannot be auoided, first to looke vpon the Court, wherein is to bee seene such fastuous and intollerable pompe, and such a degree of glory as hath neuer beene vsurped by any earthly Monarch, to behold the maiestie of the Papall carriage, borne one mens shoulders, *auro fulgens & smaragdis*, shining amidst gold and Iewels, those who beare him treading vpon fine cloth, wherewith the Church pauement is couered, accompanied with a fearefull guard, the thundering of Canons, the sound of trumpets, and all sorts of musicall instruments: at whose presence, numbers of Princes, stately Embassadours, great parsonages, and multitudes of people doe fall to the ground, saluting him *holy, holy*, as if he would not onely be Christs Vicar vpon earth, but also emulator of his diuine glory in the Heauens, and be worshipped like that glorious Lambe, before whom numbers doe fall downe to crie *holy, holy, holy*, that vpon the sight thereof I was indeed amased, as if it had beene a vision, and demaunding a French Gentleman (who had newly also arriued with me, and was a zealous Papist) how he did esteeme of that which he had seene; he answered me in the termes of (be God) that he thought it farre different from the carriage of him who said, *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*, and who said to his Disciples, *Exemplum dedi vobis vt quemadmodum ego feci ita & vos faciatis*, which answer I haue many times since thought to be as pertinent, as if the holy Spirit had inspired it into him: For if the kingdome of the world be called the kingdome of sinne

and

and of darkenes, then it is likely that the kingdom of Satan is at Rome, and not the kingdome of Christ: but that the kingdome of the world is called the kingdom of sin, the Scripture doth shew, The Spirit of God in the Euangell, compriseth the world vnder the name of sin, & hath diuided it in three. Whatsoeuer saith *Iohn* is in this world, it is either concupiscence of the eye, concupiscence of the flesh, or pride of life: we may behold the wonderfull harmony and correspondence of the same spirit of God throughout the whole Scriptures, in old and new Testament, as I said before, he hath made this diuision of the world and of sinne heere, equall with that diuersitie of sinne which did enter into the world with *Eua*, in the beginning of the booke of God, The text of *Moses* saith, and the woman saw that the Tree was pleasant to the eie, (there is concupiscence of the eye) that it was good for meate, (concupiscence of the flesh) and that it was to be desired for knowledge, (pride of life, emulation with God) so that the enioying of these three concupiscences, is the enioying of the kingdome of the world, *as Iohn* saith, and that againe to bee contrarie to the kingdome of Christ, no man can denie. For Christ had the offer made vnto him of the kingdomes of the world from Satan, as we know, and did refuse it: *Hec omnia tibi dabo si cadens adoraueris me.* Now whither or not the Popes haue taken this dominion of Rome from Christ, who said to their predecessor S. *Peter: Exemplum tibi dedi vt quemadmodum ego feci ita & facias tu.* or from the diuell, who is prince of the world, it must bee tried from those concupiscences; The Spirit of God hath said in the Scripture, *Hec fuit iniquitas Sodoma abundantia & otium*, I will not rashly say, that Rome is Sodom, vnlesse I shew reason, but I will aske if euer any towne, state or people had more abundance, and idlenesse then haue the Pope, Cardinals, and Consistory of Rome, and all their togall Clergie, who doe more truely proclaime *Cedant arma Toge*, then euer did their predecessor *Cicero*. For he was

Iohn 1. 2.

Ezech 16.

ouerthrowne by armes, and the seate of Rome amidst neighbor combustions what doth she, *Circumdata Marte quiescit*. For concupiscence of the eye, I would know who they be in the world that may match with Rome, of whose magnificent Palaces, sumptuous vineyards with their royall fountaines, volaries, picsaries, walkes, vmbrages, and all sort of most princely pleasures, one may make such a description as *Ouid* did of *Regia solis*, after he had made the materials to bee most rare and precious, then he saith, *Adderiam superabat opus*. Which is a sure argument that they haue store of that eye concupiscence, which standeth in infinite Treasures of golde and siluer, most easilie gotten by them, for they lie in the center of the richest countries in the world, of those a great part be vnder their subiection, and then they sit aboue the neckes of their people, as the sunne is aboue the inhabitants of the burnt clymate, they doe exhaust their fogges, and that with such dexteritie, that they can moouethem to quite their very earerings for making of the golden Calse. There is no trauaylour who doth not know, that for beautie of buildings for gold and siluer, either in money, or in plate, for store of Iewels they goe beyond the greatest Kings that are, or euer haue beene. As for concupiscence of the flesh, speaking generally, either of the Court, or of the Cloyster, of the Priests, or of the people: *Eloquar an silicam*: But what is spoken to the glory of God, ought not to be blamed of any man, I doe thinke that as they haue more abundance and more idleneese then euer was in Sodom, so there be among them villanous lustes neuer knowen in Sodome, as for that sinne which we call Sodomie, God helpe vs, it is indeede thought a veniall transgression, yea, a man shall heare it maintained in reasoning by persons carrying religious dignities, that as they haue followed the Idolatrie of the Gentiles, they haue also followed their pollution and filthinesse.

And to iustifie by speeches and admonitions against such

such things it is thought an idle curiositie there, and such also as a stranger would find dangerous, while as it is a familiar thing there to know that the Cardinals *Illustrissima Signoria* hath in the retyred place of his *Vigna*, his *Snirginara*, that is to say, his gallant wench of braue & fresh blood brought perhaps from the farthest part of Germanie to be defloured by him, and hath his Ganimedes at home to shew that his monstrous Religion hath made a monster of himselfe, one day to obey nature in the actions of his lustc, an other day to be contrary to her. And whither their Curtisanes haue learned this *Affarsi in modo* as they call it, it is well enough vnderstood of those who haue beene any while among them.

While those be the practises of the Court, and of the Cloyster, to take what is among the popular it is not necessarie, nor to defile chaste and vertuous eares with vncleane speeches of Bordels, and Bardasches, which bee there as ordinarily frequented as the Church, but for the manners of their multitude, otherwise, they are fearefull to a heart which feareth God, to heare their more then blasphemous oathes, that one cannot say whether they smell more of impietie, or of Atheisme, their secret practises of mutuall deceipts, their diuelish artes to execute their malice, not forbearing clandestine murthers amongst neerest kinsfolkes, and their filthie trade of Purgatory founded vpon Indulgences of these abhominable vilanies.

To come to the third concupiscence, which is pride of life. VVas there euer a pride like vnto this pride? a company of pretended Priests to sit at *Rome*, and presume to subiect to them, not onely the soules of men, but their bodies and goods: yea, the sacred Diadems of annoynted Kings? Was there euer a pride equall to this, that a Priest shall thinke it his due, that Kings and Monarks shall kisse his foote? that he shall say to himselfe, *Super basiliscum ambulabo & conculcabo leonem?* that hee shall arrogate power to sell the Kingdome of heauen,

and count himselfe God vpon the earth, saying with *Augustus*, *Diuisum imperium cum Ioue Cæsar habet*, till follow-ing Gentilisme striuing as the Ethnicke Emperors did, tomake it again *Roma caput Mundi*. Such perpetual toyle & busines doth that Consistory keep about this mystery, that it may be said of thē, as *Lucianus*, mocking the plura-lity & idlenes of the Poeticall gods, said of *Iupiter*, while som other god one day would haue talk't with him, it was told him, that he was busie, *quid facit? parturit* said one, hee is a trauayling of the birth of *Minerua* (whom the Poets faine to be bred in the braine of *Iupiter*.) So wee may affirme of them, *Quod semper parturiant*, they bee euer bringing foorth their birth: but what birth? is it *Minerua*, counsels, bookes or precepts of wisedome? no, they doe not imitate *Iupiter* to bring foorth *Minerua*, true wisedome of pietie and peace: they imitate that Goddesse of wrath, *Nemesis*, who did send through the world, with her *Pandora*, the bookes of curiositie, con-tention, malignitie, and dissention: the bookes of ven-geance and endlesse discord; witnesse their *Archipandora*, *Bellarmine* in his Treatise of the Papall Supremacie, whereof I shall speake hereafter: witnesse their *Pandora Mariana* the Iesuite: heere you shall see what is the birth of their trauailing, murther of Princes, rebellion of Sub-iects, bloud of legions, desolation of Countries, setting on fire the whole world, for building against that Towre of Babell, which doth keepe Christian people in such desperate paroxisme and diuision of tongues, that, alas, wee are neuer like to speake one language, so hath the Lord punished their pride, their vnspeakable pride, which is like vnto the pride of him who said, *Ascendam super altudinem nubium, super montes Aquilonis, & similis ero altissimo*. They bein effect, Cloudes, high with proud ambition, moyst and humide with letcherie, bright and shining with glorious ostentation, thundring with arro-gance and tumults which they contriue: *Hi sunt nubes sine aqua, quæ a ventis circumferuntur*, saith *Thaddeus*: this

Iud.

is

s that fatall Tower builded by that mighty *Nimrod* the Diuell, whereof God hath concluded *Tollatur in altum vt lapsu grauiore cadat*: It must bee mounted to great heigth, that it may also haue a great fall: it may be iustly called fatall, the very Church doth not escape this blot, but euen her first plants haue beene annoyed with these pernicious weedes of pride and ambition: *Aaron* and *Miriam* grudged against *Moses*, and did striue for authoritie. The first sacred Colledge of our Christian Religion, the twelue Apostles, were not free of this contagion. *Iames* and *Iohn*, called of Saint *Paul* the Arch-pillers which did sustaine Christs Church, they contended for the right hand of Christ. It is strange, that Diuines and Prelates should not learne the wisedome of humilitie from the very stile of the Spirit of God, speaking in these particulars: When this Tower of Babel (vnto the which I compare the pride of *Rome*) was builded in the Land of *Senaar* (which is interpreted to stinke, as is said) by the posteritie of *Noe*, the text sayes, they parted from the Orient, which is interpreted, Christ, as *Zachary* testifies, *Ecce vir, Oriens nomen viri subter eum orietur lux.* And *Luke*, *Per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri in quibus visitauit nos Oriens ex alto*: they were the sonnes of *Noe* who went from this Orient to *Sanair*: but from that forward the holy Spirit doeth no more call them the Sonnes of *Noah*, but the Sonnes of *Adam*, *Descendit Dominus & vidit vrbem quam ædificauerunt filij Adam.* Euen so, speaking of this pride of *Iames* & *Iohn*, he doth not vouchsafe them the names of Apostles, nor their owne names, but the sonnes of *Zebedæus*, *Accessit ad Iesum mater filiorum Zebedæi* which is a notable Art of the Spirit of God to reproch pride. O you blinde Prelates of *Rome*, you sonnes of *Adam*, and not of *Noe*, you sonnes of *Zebedeus*, and not Apostles, why haue ye through your pride lost your names, and parted from your Orient? if your Tower were firmely established, as that of *Dauid* vpon *Sion*, no tempest were able to shake it: it is but of stones,

Num. 12.

Mat. 20. Galat. 2.

Gen. 11. Zach. 6. Luk. 1.

taken out of the slime of the earth, forged out of earthly auarice and ambition. That of *Dauid* was founded vpon a sure rocke, *fundata super firmam Petram*, as it is said in the Gospell, *Ipso summo angulari Lapide Christo*: hauing Christ himselfe for the chiefe corner Stone: therefore shall that of yours fall to the ground, after the example of him who was the first author of such fabricks. While I did behold at leisure in *Rome* this fulnesse and ouerflowing of concupiscence in mens manners, one may easily gesse, that it was to mee like vnto the second appearing of the Angell of God to the Asse of *Balaam*. In that Towne which was one of the first Mother Churches, where pouertie, contempt, miserie, and glorious martyrdome had beene indured for plantation of the faith, where Pastors were meerely spirituall, without regard to the world, after the commaundement of their Master, where so many Cloystorall and Monasticall deserts of true solitude and holinesse were to bee seene of olde, that now adaies *ne vestigium* doth remaine, no marke of that sanctitie, yea, not a cloke sufficient to couer their nakednesse: nothing but an Ocean of abuses, the Rulers swelling in pride and riches, polluted with filthinesse and lust, defiled with Idolatrie, seeking the world and dominion ouer Princes, contrarie to the doctrine of the Apostles: *Non quærimus quæ vestra sunt sed vos*: Contrarie to the doctrine of the Prophets, *mittam vobis venatores multos qui venabuntur vos* saith Ieremie *Vos non vestra*: contrarie, the doctrine of Christ himselfe *faciam vos piscatores hominum*, he saith not *piscium* nor yet *pecuniarum*. The people tyed to superstition, religion turned to pharisaicall ceremonies, the Euangel neglected, the law became Mosaicall, daylie impietie of all sortes, daylie sacrifices and pardons for all abominatiõs, the holy deserts opened again to the world, and defiled with pride and vilanous lecherie, the Towne smoking in the stincke of *Sodom*; that if those faithfull fathers their first foundatours might againe looke vpon

2 Cor. 12.

their

their Successores they would cry *nec nos Patres, nec vos filij.*

The first Bishops of Rome who sustained Martyrdome being in number two and thirtie before *Constantine the great*, what would they say to the Pope who walketh vpon the neckes of Monarkes, while they succeeded onlie to Christ his Crosse, what would that austere Saint *Francis* say vnto these Idle Bellies who haue abused his simple hoode to couer their hypocrisie, or what Saint *Dominicke* against the beastlie pride of his successors; and what holie Saint *Augustine* against idle pretenders of his profession, which was to be *Flagellum hæreticorum & infidelitatis* to plague heresie and infidelitie, Now to finde among them one of the true succession of those noble *Machabij, Hillarij, Antonij, Pauli, Ignatij, Tertulliani, Hieronimij, Cypriani, Augustini* or such like of that trewe christian race it is a dreame; for nothing is to be seene there, but those sometime sacred mountaynes, and those holie solitudes of retyred sanctitie, become the desertes of *Iericho*, the darknes of Egypt, the tower of Gyantes, the Furnace of Babilon the shippe of Tarsus, that beleeue me it did almost moue me to teares and make me to say with the Prophet *Super montes assumpsi & fletum, lamentum & super speciosa deserti Planctum: Ad te Domine clamabo speciosa deserti consumpsit ignis*, The fire, alas hath consumed the beautie of the deserts, those prophane fiers of Nadab and Abihu which burne at the dayly Sacrifice, that destroying fire of ambition, auarice, and Lecherie which is neuer furnished with fuell sufficient, that fire of the loue of the flesh whereat while S. *Peter* stood to warme him, he denyed his master, It doth still burne in the hal of Caiphas, O cursed fire which is not only cõtent to burne in the coũtrey, in the citie, in the court, in the Palaces of Prelats and rulers of the Church, but it hath also spoyled the holie deserts, and destroyed the beauty of the Cloyster *speciosa deserti consumpsit ignis*, making our christian religion the opprobrie and scandall of

Iudg. 4.
2 Reg. 21.
Gen. 27.
Luk. 10.
Ierom: 98.
Ioel, 1,

of Turkish impietie as if there were no veritie in Gods word: *Corruit in platcis veritas* saith the prophet, *Equitas non potuit ingredi, & facta est vdritas in oblivionem*. O poore and neglected veritie, now are come to passe (thought I) the visions of Ieremie, *Quid vides Ieremia? ficus bonas bonas valde, quid vides Ieremia? ficus malas malas valde, quæ comedi non possunt*. So to close also this point of fleshlie concupiscence or kingdome of the world, I doe appeale to the divine light of your Lordships conscience whether you doe not thinke things being as I haue related, That the Pope hath holden the bargaine which our Saviour did refuse, in accepting from Satan this worldlie kingdome, whether your Lo.: doe not thinke that the Rulers of Rome be of such as the Lord God spake of to his people Israel, by his prophet Esai: My people the Rulers haue corrupted the way of thy footesteps: It is they who haue burnt vp my vineyard, saying againe thereafter, I shall enter in iudgement with you Rulers: whether your Lord doe not thinke that God is entered in iudgment alreadie with them and as it was pronounced against the Scribes and Pharises, *auferetur a vobis Regnum Dei & dabitur Genti facienti fructum*: Hath he not taken from them his kingdome by remouing the candlestick which keeps the true light the *Lamp* which keeps the liuelie oyle, the libertie of the Gospell, and hath giuen them ouer to induration; which of all chastisments is the most fearefull) *vt credant mendacio qui non crediderunt veritati*, as he also no question some day shall dissipat & destroy their worldly kingdome according as he hath done to the Iewes if they doe not repent. Now for the last of abuses whereof I will speake I go to treate of the papall Soueraignitie, as it is wickedlie and iniustlie vsurped ouer temporall kingdomes,

Isa 3,

Matth. 21,

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Orthodoxall authority of Christian Princes in the Primatiue Church: The Papall Soueraignetie; The Iesuiticall trade: The opinion of the French Church concerning Princely authoritie: Detection of the Iesuiticall ambition.

THe pernitious Doctrine of this Tyrannicall Supremacie vnknowen to antiquitie, lately conceiued in the bosome of the treacherous Iesuite, tending to a monstrous ambition as we shal see, to the ouerthrow of good Princes and people, and dissolution of all Christian discipline and obedience, it doth enuenome the minds of men with diuelish errours, and armeth their hearts with odious and treasonable attempts. It is that wormewood whereof the Prophet of the Gospel, Saint *Iohn* maketh mention in his visions of the Apocalips: *Cecidit de cœlo stella magna ardens tanquam faxilla & nomen stellæ dicitur absinthium, & facta est tertia pars aquarum in absinthium, plurimi mortui sunt de aquis, quia amarè facta sunt*, saith he, there fell from the heauen a great starre, burning like a flame, and the name of the starre was *Wormewood*: and multitudes died by the waters, because they were become bitter. It was no true starre which the Prophet did see, because the true starres bee fixed and doe not fall: *Stellæ manentes in ordine suo, & cursu aduersus Siseram pugnauerunt*, saith the Scripture, the holy Spirit in the word of God doth compare Prelates, Pastors and Rulers of Gods people to starres. *Qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos quasi stellæ ad perpetuas æternitates*: saith *Daniel*, They who instruct and teach many righteousnesse and godlinesse, be like vnto starres fixed to perpetuity. As for those which appeare to be falling starres, as this vision of Saint *Iohn*, they are but grosse vapours lightned by

Iudg. 5.

Dan. 12.

agitation of the ayre, which do quickly vanish and keepe no true light. So the Iesuites lately bred in the distemperate and tempestuous ayre of the Papall tyranny, they appeare to be, but are not true starres in Gods Church, they bee but filthie vapours which shall disappeare within short time, as the whole Clergie almost of the Romane Church it selfe doth hold, after the example and fortune of the famous order of the Knights *Templarij*, whose insolencie and pride was abhorred of Christian Princes and Prelates: But in the meane time they haue poysoned by the wormwood of this diabolicall doctrine the puritie of our waters, euen the waters of life, the word of the Gospel, the Lord Iesus Christ who calleth himselfe so, of which poyson, who would know how many millions haue died, let him read the Histories of the holy League, and the Histories of France and the Netherlands for these yeeres passed, and because it is so pregnant and perilous an error, I will insist in it at greater length to deduce it from the fountaines of sacred and primitiue veritie. For your Lordships information and many others of your profession, who if you will not quit this ground to beleeue as the Church of Rome doth command, you cannot want a scruple in your conscience for hauing so absolutely taken the oath of obedience, seeing the contrarie is strongly maintained in Rome in meere termes of a point Doctrinall, which albeit your Lo: would not credit vpon my relation after my comming from thence, where I was both eare & eye witnes, and brought with me a true transcript of the ordinance it selfe, yet now all the world doth know it since the high Court of Parliament at Paris hath beene perturbed with the agitation thereof sithence. This I thinke is the best seruice which I can yeeld to God, my Soueraigne prince and to the common weale, seeing it doth concerne euery good subiect both Theologically and ciuilly to vnderstand what hee doth owe to his King in his conscience for Religion, and ciuilly it concernes him for the securi-

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tie of his state: The Iesuits indeed haue most subtilly gon about to make an *Antithesis* or contradiction betwixt the Principautie and Priesthood, holding this to be onely diuine, and that onely humane; and therefore that to be subiect vnto this: vpon which *Antithesis* they build this vsurpation ouer Princes and states, but if your Lo: doe not stop your eares against the following discourse, I hope your Lordship shall find that in my peregrination beyond seas, I did furnish my selfe with as much concerning the substance of this question from the most learned, both writers and speakers, as is sufficient to ridde any man whatsoeuer of this dangerous doubt, vnlesse it be those whose hearts and best spirits are already ouercome by the poyson of this deadly *Absinthium*.

And first I lay downe this generall Thesis, that all such authoritie and power in the Church, which doth disproue Christian & orthodoxal Magistrates, erecting violent vsurpations, in their place is manifestly contrary to the voyce of Christ in the Euangell, the practise of the primitiue Church, approued by the great doctors thereof in all following ages: yea and contrary the first ordinance of God in the typicall gouernment of *Moses*, and consequently all such doctrine which doe maintaine the same, must bee hereticall and impious: To cleare this generall Thesis in the fountaine, let vs looke vpon the first plantation of Christs Church, and the condition wherein it was setled, which by the Spirit of God is compared to a vineyard: *Homo quidem paterfamilias plantauit vineam & circundedit eam sepibus*: and so forth; as we read in the Text, *A certaine husbandman planted a vineyard*, and hedged it about: This is the vineyard of Christianitie watered and made fertile by the foure floods of the foure Euangelists, as is mystically figured in Genesis: A flood went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was diuided into foure heads, Christ who is the planter of this vineyard, hath fortified it in the Gospel, with three seuerall walles, as so many

diches and rampards to compasse it: The first fortification and wall is the word of God and holy Scripture against heresies and heretickes; *Vt potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana & eos qui contradicunt arguere*, to be able to teach wholsome doctrin, & to improue them who speak against it. The second Fortification is of spirituall Iurisdiction against those who be rebellious, *Qui Ecclesiam non audierit sit tibi tanquam Ethnicus & Publicanus*: who is to be excommunicate from the company of the Saints. The third Fortification is of Temporall power against humane inuasions, *Duo gladij*. Vpon the first of which three Ramparts hee hath placed learned Doctors in the Church, who are furnished with spirituall wisedome to conuict heresie. Vpon the second, Prelates, with authoritie to excommunicate those who be disobedient to the voyce of Christ. Vpon the third, *Brachium seculare*: Ciuill power of Princes to guard his Church from the persecution and inuasion of rauening Wolues, from without, and from intestine disorders, without any of which three this Vineyard of Christ is neuer sufficiently fortified. The erronious dreames of Anabaptists, too much imitated by some pure and foolish Puritanes, would deprive the Church of the vse of one of those strengths, to wit, of the secular Arme: But specially this Iesuiticall Clergie hath preuailed mightly to breede a disiunction of the Ramparts, which God, wee see, hath conioyned to rend asunder the Church and ciuill authoritie, the Prince and the Priest, which although they were contrarie in themselues, as they be seuerall, yet the Lord hath knit them together: As of contrary Elements hee hath formed the vnitie of mans bodie, and hath vnited a mans owne constitution of things, meerely contrary, soule and body, heauen and earth, *Caro aduersus spiritum, spiritus autem aduersus carnem*, saith the Apostle: for euen as the soule of man, which receiueth that diuine inspiration of wisedome and knowledge to rule our life, is in it selfe a thing contemplatiue and abstract, neuer able to

Timoth. 1.

Math. 18.

Luk. 22.

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subiect the members of our body to this Rule, if it were not that the power of our actiue spirit, sitting in the chaire of our conscience, doth frame and force our will, and the faculties of our minde, to make our body obedient, otherwise it should neuer obey vnto the soule, by reason of the corruption therof. Our soule is as the Alte of this Musicke, our flesh as the Counterbase, our actiue spirit as the Tenor and midcuple that ioyneth them. This difference of our soule and spirit is cleere once by Saint *Paul, Vt seruetur & corpus, & anima, & spiritus integer in die Domini nostri.* Our great Philosopher Christ againe did vse to say, *Tristis est anima mea vsq; ad mortem Spiritus quidem promptus, caro autem infirma.* And *Daniel, Laudate Spiritus & Animæ Iustorum.* Euen so in Gods Church, the Priests and Pastors are the soule which receiue the inspiration of Gods will in his law, as the Scripture saith of them, *In quorũ pectore conduntur Oracula Dei, & ex ore illorum promanant Eloquia diuina:* to bee taught and communicate to the people, who bee the body of this Church, if it were not by the power which God giueth vnto the Prince, who sitteth in the Throne of authoritie and actiue wisedome, like armed *Pallas*, this bodie of ours would oftner refuse obedience to the soule, as daily experience doeth proue. That Christian Princes, to whose charge is committed the gouernment of States, the rule of the people in pietie and iustice, the protection of the Widdow, the Orphanes, the Innocent, the Stranger, the punishment of Malefactors, and aduancement of the vertuous to Gods glory, that those be not most diuine Offices; and that therefore Ethnicke Princes haue had, graunted by God himselfe, the title to be his seruants, who may deny it, the Lords Annointed independent of any but of him alone, and holding of him imediately the Charter of their authoritie. Into the Iewish policie whereof God was the founder himselfe, for an example to all vertuous and godly States, wee see in the person of *Moses* a coniunction of spirituall and

Matth. 26. Dan.

Authoritie of Princes among the Iewes.

temporall power, not onely did God esteeme his Vocation diuine, but he giueth him the stile of a God. *Ego te constituam Deum Pharaonis*: I shall make thee the God of *Pharaoh*. *Moses* did thereafter indeede by the direction of God, separate those functions, but alwaies in these termes, that they should remaine in one vnited concurrence in the gouernment of Gods people, like vnto the fingers of a mans hand, which albeit they bee seuerally distinguished by nature, yet can we make no vse of them but when they are conioyned. The ciuill Magistrate among the Iewes, certaine it is, hee might not offer sacrifice, or performe religious Ceremonies, things proper vnto the Priest: as againe, militarie discipline matters of the fisk, and such like, went peculiarly vnder the name of the Prince: but in points of pietie and iustice, the rule of the people, *Indicatura morum*, their obedience to Gods Law, they were not onely conioyned, but in the hand of that gouernment, the ciuill Magistrate had that place of the finger, which is called the key of the hand. Into *Ierusalem* there was two *Sanedrim* (for so was their great Councell called) one supreme in *Ierusalem*, consisting of 70. together, with the Prince and Priesthood: another small *Sanedrim* in euery Citie of reasonable importance, contayning 23. wise men, together with a number of the Priesthood, which was done by a generall ordinance of God himselfe, *Populo mandauit vt Iudices constituerent secundum tribus suas in omni Ciuitate*: That they should in euery Citie appoint Iudges according to their Tribes: and againe, in the next chapter he made a Law of Appellation, commanding, *In omni re difficili constituere Sacerdotes Leuitici generis & Iudicem*: To appoint ouer all difficile causes some of the Priests, and some of the Iudges: hee hath not saide, onely the Priest, nor onely the Iudge: as neither did *Moses* when hee went into the Mountaine make any separation, but left the spirituall and ciuill Magistrate coniunct, *Ecce Aaron & Hur*. That the ciuill Magistrate hath a di-

Deu. 16.

Deu. 17.

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vine charge, and was so counted among the Iewes, there it is seene, where after Iudges were constitute in euery towne: the King saide to them, *Videte quid agatis non enim pro Homine sed pro Deo iudicia disponitis.* 2 Paral. 19. Behold sayd Iosua, what you doe, because you doe not iudge for men but for God, Againe to shew this coniunction he doth subioyne, *omnis causa quæ venerit ad vos de fratribus.* Euerie cause which commeth from your brethren vnto you dwelling in the countrie; where he maketh no separation of spirituall from ciuill causes, euen as Moses hath done before where he ordaines the people to goe to the Leuites and the Iudges, *si aliqua difficilis causa nata fuerit* if any difficile question arise, in the gouernment of King *Dauid* those coniunctions are cleerelie expressed for he did absolutely distribute the peculiar charges of the Leuites, *& Hebronitas vtros Iordanem præfecit in omni negotio Dei & ministerio Regis,* Deu. 19. he did promoue the Hebronites beyond Iorden to all the functions appertayning to Gods house, and to the seruice of the king, and againe in the last verse of the same *hos præfecit David super Ebronitas & Gadditas in omni negotio Dei & omni negotio Regis*, which power of constitution in Dauid, is sufficient to prooue that the regall function is *negotium diuinum*, chiefly where it is Christian and orthodoxall, 1 Par. 26. may not Moses and *Dauid* serue vs for matter of light in gouernment, to qualifie this coniunction of religion and empire which made the Iudaicall law to be accounted a parte of Theologie. So that we may with great reason conclude that he is not *Orthodoxus Theologus* no right meaning Theologue, who would refuse vnto christian Kings that authoritie in Ecclesiasticall affayres, which was not onlie graunted but commanded vnto the Kings of Israel, and which godlie Dauid vpon his death bed did render into the handes of Solomon, from the warrant (who made doubt of it) 1 Par. 28. of the holy Scripture, saying, *Deus diuisit distributiones Leuitarum, ad vnum quodque ministerium domus Dei potens to*

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sunt, ad omne opus voluntarij? denique omnes Principes & totus populus parati ad verba tua: Behold sayd he the distributions of all Leuiticall offices in the house of God, is in thy power, and they be ready to obey thee, as also the prince and people; where in that example wee see no exemption of the Leuite more then laitie from the kingly authoritie, howsoeuer princes may not vse priestlie function, yet are they bound to superintend Christes vineyard and to guard it not onelie from forraigne inuasions but from intestine perill and corruption, which is more frequent and more pernicious of the two, to stop ambition, auarice and dissention from comming among the prelates, who were neuer in any time able to rule nor shal not be to the end, without their Pallas be armed with authoritie of good and lawfull kings, who doth not see that of diuine functions vpon earth the priestlie office is the contemplatiue part and the princelie office practicall acting the honour and worship of God, by making people to obey his Lawe. Who was the first instrument of God for redeeming the Church from persecution and the crosse, to establish her prosperitie, was it kings or priests? was it not Constantine the great, by what meanes againe was the Church redeemed from the flood of the Arrian heresie? was it not by the secular arme of *Carolus Magnus* and his predecessors *Pipino* and *Carolo Martello*, so that to goe about to separate things which God hath knit together as the soule and bodie, it is to make a sacriledgious diuorcement; and specially to take from the prince that which is his due, to giue it vnto the priests, it is iust as the serpent did in Paradize to seduce the weaker partie of the two in that coniunction, it is euen as if we would send Aaron vnto the mount of God to learne the wisedome of actiue gouernement, and leaue *Moses* with the people to his returning. And since such is the impudent and arrogant malignitie of the Iesuiticall ambition in their doctrine about this point, what if (to meete them in their owne

language

language, and pay them home with their owne Coyne) I should goe yet one degree higher in that particular, to say that apparantlie God himselfe doth prefer the regall function, when by his Prophet, setting aside all sacrifices and ceremonies (which was the Priests part) hee did require the Office of the ciuill Magistrate, *Quid affertis tanta sacrificia, discite vos reges & Principes qui populum regitis benefacere; querite iudicium dirigite oppressum*: What shall I doe with so many sacrifices, would God say, that is not the substance of my worship, being but religious ceremonies learne yee Kings and Princes to doe well, aske iudgement to gouerne the people, and to releeue the oppressed, which (would the Lord say) is the matter of my true worship, to practise my law, and make it to be obeyed. Isa. 1.

The Deut. doth shew, that the office of a Prince was not to frame his owne life after the deuteronomicall, but to prouide that both Priests and people should keepe the same inuiolable. If Priests debord and transgresse Gods law, must not the Prince corect them? yea, if they should sow hæretical doctrins, who could stop the growth of them other then the Prince? Of which thinges, it is most manifest, that God hath laid the whole burthen of earthly gouernment vpon these two Iurisdictions of the Ciuill authoritie and Priesthood, as the two diuine Arches vpon the which the policie of the world is sustained: they are as the two Poles which fixe the Axletree of the cœlestiall Spheres, directly looking one vpon the other: which two, if they should neuer so little incline to obliquitie, fall to iarre, or presse to draw the one the other, it were to disturbe and endanger the whole frame of the world, which is carryed vpon their coniunction: euen so the variance of the Temporall and Spirituall Magistrate is to cut the Axletree, whereupon, as on a mighty *Atlas*, the Sphere of Christian gouernment doth relye. And this farre I adde: In the beginning all the Patriarks had the Priesthood coupled with their King-

ly office, euen from the day of *Adam*: And in after-times, whensoeuer any constraint or corruption of time bred a necessitie to confound them in one person, it hath euer beene so, that the ciuill authoritie did carry the Priesthood: which coniunction we finde to haue beene twice in the person of one: first in *Moses*, who was so farre preferred to *Aaron*, or to his particular office, that God said, *Aaron* shall speake for thee those words which thou shalt put into his mouth, and thou shalt bee as his God. And thereafter againe, by reason of corruption in latter times, God did suffer the Princes of the Machabes and Asmonei to possesse the Priesthood also, as, *Simon*, *Ioannes*, *Alexander*, *Hircanus*, and *Aristobulus*, of whom some are witnessed in the Booke of *Machabes* to haue beene rare and excellent men: as, *Simon Onia*, of whom it is said, *Erat tanquam astrum matutinum inter nubes & tanquam Sol refulgens in templo altissimi*: He was like the day Starre among the cloudes, and as a shining Sunne in the Temple of the most High. Which confusion of seuerall powers, our Sauiour againe in his time did cleerely distinguish, commanding to giue to God, that which was his; and to *Cæsar* that which was due to him: after which Christian Princes & Prelates did long liue, euery one contented to attend their owne function: Prelates to pray for Princes to teach their people, and watch ouer their soules; Princes againe to nourish them, to protect the Church, and minister Iustice, vntill the poles of this gouernment beganne to shake through vanitie of the Priesthood, striuing so much to inuade the Temporall puissance, and to confound the two functions in their owne persons whereof I will relate what hath beene the iudgement and practise of the Fathers, of most simple and vnsuspected antiquitie of the primitiue Church: Saint *Ambrose* saith of these two Iurisdictions, that the one doth assist the other mutually. Saint *Augustine* saith the same in his Epistle to *Macedonius*. *Boniface*, in his Letter to the Emperour *Honorius* saith, it were too great

Eccle. 50.

great burthen for the Church to ouerwatch ſpirituall things, if ſhe were tyed to any temporall care. Saint *Cyprian* in his Epiſtle ſaith, to inuolue the Church in worldly affayres, were to eſtrange her from God. Saint *Iohn Chryſoſt.* as alſo *Auguſtine*, againſt the Manichees, do affirme, there is no power but from God, eyther that hee doth eſtabliſh it, or permit it, for the execution of his will in mercy, or in iuſtice: for the which reaſons, ſay they, a Chriſtian ſubiect may ſeruе vnder the commandement of an Infidell or ſacriledgious King: and as the iniquitie of the commandement doth render the Prince culpable, ſo doeth the band of obedience keepe the ſubiect innocent. All Antiquitie doth conclude with Saint *Auguſtine* in the Citie of God thus: God onely doth ordinate Kings after his ſecret pleaſure, good or bad, according to our merits or demerits: therefore, ſaith hee, it is our part onely to obey, vnleſſe we will repine againſt God; for, ſaith he, the great God, who gaue Empire to the Aſſyrians and Perſians, hee granted it vnto the Romanes when he pleaſed, and as great as he pleaſed: hee rayſed the power of *Marius*, hee yeelded authoritie to *Ceſar*, to *Auguſtus*, yea, to *Nero*, to *Veſpaſian*, and to his gracious ſonne *Titus*, and to his tyrannous brother *Domitian*. And finally, ſaith this holy Father, he who placed into the Empire the moſt Chriſtian *Conſtantine*, hee did alſo honour with the ſame power the filthy Apoſtat *Iulian*: and howſoeuer the cauſes of this proceeding in God be hidden, and myſticall, ſaith he, yet they are vndoubtedly iuſt and holy.

This is the doctrine of Antiquitie, whereupon the Primitiue Church did in euery thing of exterior gouernment depend vpon the temporall Soueraintie, whether in ciuill or criminall caſes, if any man did inuade Eccleſiaſticall patrimony or goods, they did remit it to the imperiall Iudicatorie, if any man did offer violence, or kill a Bithop, they did the ſame, as *Auguſtine* teſtifies vpon the Epiſtle to the Romanes, theſe,

and such like, bee the Precepts which are left to vs from Antiquitie for Christian policie or gouernment. The practise of the Primitiue Church hath bene agreeable to this doctrine, for in their gouernement wee doe obserue three things, which haue beene inuiolably kept of them. First not onely did the Church serue and obey Pagans, Tyrants, and abominable monsters in the Empire, who refused her for their mother, who did afflict, and persecute her, but she did make ordinary prayers to God for their happinesse, so farre, that (as *Tertullian* writeth) diuers Ethnickes did ascribe it as a peculiar glory to Primitiue Christians, that their exercise was to pray for their enemies, shewing how farre Christian profession doth surmount the doctrine of Philosophie.

Secondly, where the Emperors begun to range themselues vnder the holy ensignes of the Church, becomming her *Alumni*, and children, she did obey vnto the most cruell hereticks as to *Constantius*, *Valens*, and others, and to the greatest Apostates and mockers of Christianity, as vnto *Iulian*, notwithstanding of whose bloodie persecutions, she neuer left her obedience, as the Records of her ancient Counsels beare witnesse: wherein any man may reade the processe of the Councell of *Arimini*, that worthie Bishop *Melitus*, the light of Asia in his time, did write vnto the Emperour *Antonius* those words, according to a true version. Ye haue sent, saith he, such rigorous edicts against vs, for tormenting of vs vnto death, thinking thereby to extinguish the name of Christians, we know not if these haue proceeded from your owne will, which if it be, in that case we shall obey you, for nothing can come from you but good: but wee doe most humbly beseech you to consider, that their are many Calumniators about your person, that seeke how to destroy vs, that they may possesse our goods. In the Histories of France and Spaine, we read that the Church did carrie the same reuerence vnto a great number of Princes Visigotti, Arians hereticks, yea, and (which

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should more moue vs) the Popes themselues who haue possessed the seate of Rome haue left vnto their successors, notable examples of their faithfull obedience vnto all the Ostrogotti, who did raigne in Italie, among the which Theodoricke was so respected of the Sea of Rome, chiefly of Pope S. *Hormisda*, that they had almost canonized him as is written, There was no seruice whereinto they did not obey those princes, if they had any occasion to send any Embassadours they did vndergoe it, as Pope *Innocent* the first, tooke a legation from *Alarico* to the Emperour *Honorius*, to negotiat his peace, and to obtaine a dignitie to that Arrian King. And further to declare how sacred they did hold their obedience to whatsoeuer King God did place ouer them, they did vndertake Embassages from Arrian Princes in fauour of Arrian Churches, for conseruation of Arrians, and in case of excommunication, as *Ioan* the second, and Pope *Agapet* were imployed by *Theodoric* and *Theodotus*. Now to him who will answere to this, that these Princes were not excommunicate, therefore the Church did serue them, I replie that there was greater cause to excommunicate them then, nor now adayes is taken against Christian Princes, and which is more, we find the letters of *Hormisda* and others to *Anastase* as full of honor and respect as if he had beene free from the sentence of excommunication, and of *Gregorie* the second to the Emperour *Leon Iconomachus*, albeit he was excommunicate by that same Pope himselfe, which things we must not imagine to haue bin done at randome, or *pro tempore*, but from good warrant appearantly, since the iurisdiction spirituall is onely ouer the soules of men, Church gouernours ought not to transcend their ordinary bounds to meddle with the bodies or temporall states of Kings, but their *Fulmen Ecclesiasticum*, the thunder of excommunication should bee onely spirituall: and like vnto the naturall thunder, which can strike a man to the death without the meaneſt offence done vnto the apparell of his body. For I would

aske the Ieſuite, albeit the Church haue power ouer the Kings ſoule, if it be ſo, that they might raſhly excommunicate him, what right haue they for this ouer his kingdome and people? If they haue, why did Saint *Paul* in his time cry, *Quærimus vos non veſtra?* And why hath Saint *Ambroſe* and *Optatus Milenitanus* in his third booke *Aduerſus Parmenianum* ſaid, That Emperours and Kings be within the Church, but that the Empire is without it, yea ſay they the Church is within the Empire, & in token that Antiquitie did exempt things temporall from the dint of excommunication, when Pope *Marcelline* did ſacrifice to Idols, and Pope *Honorio* became a Monothelet Hereticke, they were excommunicate, but did not looſe their Biſhopprickes, Pope *Formoſe* Biſhop of Port was choſen ſucceſſor to the ſame Pope, who had excommunicate him. And in the Counſell holden at Lions vnder Pope *Gregorie* the tenth, it was concluded that Cardinals albeit excommunicate, might aſſiſt the Pope his election by their vote and preſence; So modeſt were the Fathers in the point of Princely authoritie, that *Paulus Samoſetanus*, againſt whom the Councell of Carthage was conuocate, being depoſed from Epiſcopall charge, hee did yet poſſeſſe a certaine territory belonging to the Church, but theſe Biſhops demanded iuſtice thereof of the Emperour *Aurelian*, albeit an Ethnicke, becauſe all that was ciuill and worldly, did belong vnto the Empire, The Church (ſaith *Auguſtine* vpon Saint *Iohn*) doth poſſeſſe no patrimonie nor goods, but *Iure humano*; *Iure diuino*, ſhe hath nothing. This *Iure humano* is the Right Imperiall of Princes, which being vſurped of any other, it hath no more Title nor right vpon earth, ſaith he: So was it the conſtant meaning and doing of the ancient Fathers to thinke that they had nothing which they might refuſe vnto the Emperours, but the onely houſe of God. Nor yet that ſaith *Ambroſe*, if I were aſſured that the Emperour (ſpeaking of *Valens*) would not plant Arrians into it, in which caſe onely I would preſſe to retaine it: O,

In oratione contr. au.

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what difference betwixt that and this blind ambitious and impudent age, wherein Church rulers make open doctrine and profession to Master Princes lawfull and orthodoxall, and to treade vpon their neckes, holie antiquitie would not aduenture to take from an excommunicate Bishop an house belonging to the Church, but by the authoritie of the Empereur nor would not resiste the Emperor by violence for the Temple of God to ane hereticke king, although it were to giue it to heriticall pastoures: whereas the plaine guyse of this time is to be *Piscatores piscium non hominum* and to abuse excommunication and the papall Thunder to spoyle a king of his cloathes, to dethrone him of his kingdomes, and to make him naked of his subiects.

Thirdlie we doe obserue of the primitiue Church that whensoeuer she did enioy good and godly Emperours, they did not onelie not repute them as priuate members of the Church, iudicable by the power Ecclesiasticall, but contrarie they hold them chiefe members of their generall counsels vnder their misticall head *Iesus Christ*, yeelding to them the authoritie of conuocation, and whole exteriour Iurisdiction, giuing them the tittle of common and externall Bishopes; For we reade in Eusebius that Constantine the great was called so of the Church and said to bee brother vnto the fathers, in which qualitie of a common Bishop he did exercise his power ouer the Church exteriorlie, and ouer Bishops: In like maner we find that in the *Calcedonian* councel the Emperour was called vniuersall Bishops, yea Antiquitie did esteme no counsell supreame, wherein an Emperour did not sit and præsidiat. In all the appellationes of the primitiue Church (which forme of Iudicatore is fittest to try where the maine sway of authoritie doth lie, because it was absolute soueraigne and without declinatour, hauing power against the Tyrannous gouernment of Popes, against discords of other Prelats, against vniust decrees of counsels themselues. In all these appellations

lations I say we finde that none was esteemed supreame but that wherein the Emperour did ouer rule, as the only power vpon earth which is in dependant, The first appellation we reade of in the Church was by *Cyrillus* Bishoppe of Ierusalem from the condemnatorie of one Counsel to another more general assisted (sayth he) with *Seculare brachium* with seculare power which he called a prouocation vnto a greater Iudgemement, And so his cause was examined in the counsell of *Seleucia*: As for the cause of *Athanasius* which did preceed that, it was rather a remission of the processe to the counsell of *Sardis* then an appeale, and went alwaies by the direction & will of the Emperour Constantine, to whom Saint *Anthony* write diuers letters directlie praying him for the restitution of *Athanasius*. Saint *Iohn Chrisost.* in a second appellation did prouoke in the same tearmes with Cyrill to a higher iudge a more generall counsell assisted with imperiall authoritie, as is cleare by a third appellation of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* the time of the counsell of *Calcedon*, in which appeale he doth expresselie protest that the coniunction of the imperiall authoritie doth make the highest iurisdiction which cannot be denyed, when all the authorities on earth are conioyned, there can be nothing aboue that; So we reade that Constantius did determine the processe of Saint *Athanasius*, as his father Constantine had designed to doe before, for he sent his will touching it vnto the Bishops assembled in the counsell of Tyre, with the gouernour *Archilaus*, who did sit and preside in the counsell, yet in the ende the Empreour would needes banish that good father into Treues; After that againe, Honoratus the gouernour with some other senatours assisted the counsell conueened in the cause of *Ætius*, and in the counsell of Calcedon the Senatours brought thither by *Valentinian* the third, and *Marcian*, did coniunctlie with the fathers iudge a great number of Bishops, whose requests presented to the Empreour for that effect are yet to be read in

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the histories, and if any man will say that these were but priuate Bishopes, who were censured of the Emperours, let him remember that *Constantius* did iudge and condemne to exile Pope *Liberius*, at least he gaue Commission to do the same vnto Bishop *Vrsatius*, that *Sextus* the third, did vnderly a criminall iudgement of *Valentinian* the third, assisted with numbers of Ciuill Magistrates, fortie eight Priests, sixe Deacons. That *Iustinian* made the processe of Pope *Siluerius*, and banished him, and of his successor, Pope *Vigilius*, accused of treason, that Theodoricke King of Gothes did exercise the same iustice against Pope *Symmachus*, assembling a Counsell where the whole Bishops did remit themselues vnto the wisedome of the Emperour: And *Gregorie* the great, behooued he not to purge himselfe to *Mauricius* the Emperor, of a disorder fallen out at Rome, and of the death of Bishop *Malcus*, did he not in his ordinary letters to the Emperours, stile them his Signiors and Masters, how like to that is it that Rome is now become *Naufragium Principum*, the rocke vpon the which Kings make shipwracke, and the bloodie stage whereupon they act their Tragedies. And this touching the forme of Ecclesiasticall iudicatorie in the Primatiue Church.

As for the power of Conuocation, that it was granted to Princes, as Soueraigns in the exterior policie of the Church, it is as manifest; we haue the testimonie of *Ruffinus* vpon the first Counsell of Nice, hee saith it was assembled by *Constantine* the great, with the aduise of the Fathers; And *Eusebius* in the life of this Emperour, for calling of this Counsell, he doth not so much as mention any letter of the Pope *Siluester* soliciting the same, contenting himselfe to say this Counsell was assembled by the honourable letters of the Emperour as a puissant armie of Christ Iesus in the which he did præside, glorying to call himselfe a common Bishop among them. As for the Counsell of *Laodicea Sard: Selu: Arimini, Milane* and Rome which were not vniuersall, *Socrates*

and *Sozomen* doe testifie that they were conuocate by the onely commaundement of the Emperour *Constans*: hereticke *Arrian*, the same Authors beare witnesse that the second Counsell of Constantinople generall was assembled by the authoritie of *Theodose* the great, and that of *Ephesus* by *Theodose* the yonger, and that of *Calcedon* consisting of 630. Fathers by *Valentinian* the third, and *Martian*; of the fift Counsell was not the honour due to *Iustinian*? and of the sixt to *Constantine*? Wherein were excommunicate Pope *Honorio*, *Theodore* Bishop of Phare, *Syrus* Bishop of Alexandria, heretickes, monothelites; these two preceeding Counsels are onely comprehended in one called *Quinta Sexta Synodus*, because their decrees were not ample and seuerally particularised; Alwayes we reade that the Emperour *Constantine* sent his letters to Pope *Donus*, requiring him to direct his Legates vnto this Counsell, and after his death, Pope *Agatho* his successor when he sent to haue the confirmation of his pontificat from him, hee promised that his Legate should come to that Counsell conuocate by the Emperour. As for the sixt Counsell *Oecumenicke* holden at Constantinople in Trullo, was it not assembled by *Iustinian* the second? The seuenth concerning the impugnation of images, was conuocate by the authoritie of *Constantine*, the sonne of *Irene*, and so foorth through all the rest, vntill the Empire became feeble and dismembred: which power those Emperours did so absolutely keepe and vse, ouer the externall policie of the Church, that *Theodose* the great had once intended to conuocate an vniuersall Counsell, of all nations, and all sects of Religion, to purge the Church from all sorts of schismes and heresies, And this is the reason why *Socrates* in the entrie of the fift booke of his Historie saith, he is constrained to introduce the Emperors, because after their being Christians, they did conuocate the generall Counsels, and carrie the sway of Ecclesiasticall gouernement: And this is the cause why *Augustine* in his ninth Epistle *De correctione*

reflione Donatistarum saith, when it begun to be fulfilled which is written, *Et adorabunt eum omnes Reges Terræ*, when Emperours and Kings became Christians, then saith he, what man can be so absurd as to say vnto Kings, haue no rule of Gods Church within your kingdomes. This it is which made Pope *Leo* to write to *Leo Augustus*, wishing him deepely to consider that Royall power was not onely giuen to him, *Ad mundi Regimen, sed præcipuè ad Ecclesia*, not onely for the rule of the world, but more of the Church: as *Isodore* saith, That whither the policie or peace of the Church bee diminished or aduanced vnder Princes they are to render count unto the Lord, *Qui ab iis exiget rationem Ecclesiæ suæ quam eorum potestati tradiderat*, who shall demaund from them an accompt of his Church which he hath committed to their power, *In Novellis Constitutionibus* 124. The truth thereof is so cleerely verified in the whole practise of this Primitiue Church, that the Epistles Synodals of the first Counsell of Nice, those holy Bishops did write them in this stile. For as much, say they, as by the grace of God and by the commandement of the most sacred Emperour *Constantine* the great, this holy Counsell hath beene assembled, without any mention at all of Pope *Silvester* his letters, the same tenor is obserued in the Synodall Epistle of the Counsell of Trullo, where the Fathers did prayse *Iustinian* the second, because he had assembled them foorth of diuers nations, to the imitation of Christ, who sought so carefully the straying sheepe in the mountaine.

This authoritie Temporall euer the Church, was exercised euen by *Constantine* the great himselfe, who was the greatest zealator of the Church of any Emperour, and who called them Gods in the Church, so long as they did minister the Sacraments and holy things, yet when he commeth after that, to speake of the subiection and ductie of euery Bishop to him, in that letter which he wrote for the assemblie of the Counsell of Tyre, he saith

that they should conuene vnder the paine of exile, and that hee should teach all disobedient Bishops to know that they must liue vnder the authoritie of a sacred Emperour, declaring therby, that in the poynts of externall policy, he did esteeme them as men & ordinary subiects, who in their spiritual functions he had counted as Gods. The same authoritie was practised by *Charlemaine*, who in his time did conuocate eight Councels, and by his sonne *Lewis Debonnaire*, who did assemble one. And to shew it more plainely, that this power to conuocate was Imperiall, and not Episcopall, we read how all the Popes of those dayes did write to Emperours for that effect: Pope *Innocent* sent to *Honorius* fiue Bishops & two Priests to obtaine a Councell for the restitution of Saint *Iohn Chrysostome*, as we read in *Euagrius*. Pope *Leo* doth beseech *Valentine* the third, to obtaine of *Theodose* the yonger a Councell against *Eutiches*: and in token that the Popes did not so much as pretend this power to assemble, wee finde in *Sozemene*, that Pope *Iulius* complaines onely that the Bishops of the Orient did not inuite him to the Councell of Antioch, saying, that a law of the Church prouided that no Decree should passe without the opinion asked of the Bishop of Rome. And in *Theoderet* Pope *Damasus* makes the same complaint, and in the same termes against the councel of Arimini, in which such honour was done to the Emperour *Constantius*, and such reuerence to his authoritie, that the Fathers conuened there, being detayned too long, and being pressed to put downe some Decrees, which were not orthodox all, they durst not for all that depart vntill they had the Emperours leaue and permission. Further now will wee obserue the very internall Iurisdiction of the Church, and that which is meerely spirituall, to wit, the sentence of Excommunication, and how it was exercised: we doe finde two things in that, one is, we shall not see that the primitiue Church did excommunicate any Emperour or King, albeit there were more occasion against them,

nor

nor is now contained in the great *Bul of the holy Thursday*, which is yeerely publisshed at Rome against Christian Kings and States. *Constantius* and *Valens* persecuting heretikes. *Trinitaries*, who would haue forced the Fathers to confessions against the Catholike faith, were not excommunicate. *Theodose* the second, and *Valentinian* the third, Eutichean heretikes, were not excommunicate. *Basilicius*, enemie to the Councell of *Calcedon*, *Iustinian*, and of Kings, *Chilpericke* King of France, infected with Arianisme: *Theodoricke* King of Gothes: *Atalarichus*, *Theodatus*, *Vittiges*, and many others, of whom none was excommunicate, no not *Iulian* the *Apostata*, nor *Valentinian* the second, who fell in an heresie three seuerall times, nor *Iustinian*, who fell twise, no, when they had banished Popes themselues: for wee read in an Epistle of Pope *Siluerius*, that beng banished by *Belizarius*, at the command of *Iustinian* his Master, he assembled certaine Bishops to excommunicate *Belizarius*, but did not so much as murmurre against *Iustinian*, by whose direction he was persecuted. Neither yet, if they did kill a Bishop as *Valens*, who caused some of them to be drowned. Secondly, we obserue on this point of Excommunication, that Bishops in the primitiue Church did excommunicate by the consent and permission Imperiall: for Princes, fearing that Church Rulers should abuse the spirituall sword, made an ordinance, repeated afterwards by *Iustinian*, that no person should bee excommunicate, vnlesse the cause of their sentence were before the Emperour, cleerely prooued to be agreeable to the will and meaning of the holy Spirit: which Saint *Augustine* doth expressely acknowledge in an Epistle to *Boniface*, saying that the Church doth exercise her power against heretikes vnder the permission and power of Kings. Some Bishops haue questioned hardly with Emperours: as a Bishop did commaund *Philip* the Emperour, that hee should not enter into the Church, but remaine without in the place of the *Penitentiaries*. Saint *Ambrose*, Bishop of

Iustin. Nouell. Constit. 123.

of *Milane*, dealt right so with *Theodosius* the great: but they did not pronounce any Excommunication maior against them; for then they would not haue enioyned them penance, if they had beene without the bosome of the Church. As for *Anastatius*, albeit some Churches, as that, and the Church of *Ierusalem*, did excommunicate him, yet he was euer in peace and vnion with numbers of Catholike Churches in the *Orient*, which did declare that it was not *magnum anathema*, but rather a temerarious Act, howsoeuer this be, such two or three exceptions will not serue against one ordinarie rule: for then to meete these, we finde in like manner three extraordinarie acts of Imperiall authoritie, which caused excommunicate or eiect the Popes. *Xistus*, the third of that name, suspected for adulterie, was excommunicate by commaundement of *Valens* the third. *Theodericke* King of Gothes did eiect from the Church Pope *Symmachus*. And the people of *Rome*, vnder the Magistrates, did forbid Pope *Pelagius* the assembly of the Church: besides, Saint *Iohn Chrysostome* deposed and expelled from his Church by *Arcadius*. As for the excommunication of *Arcadius*, done by Pope *Gelasius*, it is doubted of in the Ecclesiasticall histories: but I doe not speake of such extrauagant acts, but of that which was ordinarily followed, whereby it is still verified, that the whole sway of Iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall was in the Emperors. The Conuocation was due to them: the processe went by their permission and consent, their persons were exempted from excommunication, as wee haue heard, which bee three maine points of soueraigne Commandement.

For the fourth, which is the confirmation of the Popes, it was also due to the Emperours, *Constantius* the sonne of *Constantine*, hee banished *Liberius*, and erected Pope *Felix* in his place: yea, farther, hee recalled that good Prelate, & did establish him with the other. *Theodosius* the great, a great pillar of the Church, by the right Emperi-

Emperiall he setled at Rome together with a Pope, a Bishop of a diuers religion, (I thinke) for satisfaction of a mutinous people *Leonius* in his time was Bishop of Rome for the Church of the *Nouatianes*, *Honorius* his son again comming into *Italie* while *Bonface* and *Eulalius* did contend for the *Pontificat*, he chased them both away, and after placed *Bonface* making lawes against such ambicious competencers *Iulius Nepos* the tyrant ouercomming *Glicerius* the Empreour, he made him Pope as *Euagrius* doth recorde; for some hold that he made him onelie Bishop of *Milane*, because he is not found in the catalogue of the Popes, *Odoacre* king of the *Heroli* being master of *Rome*, he made an ordinance at the solistation of Pope *Simplicius*, and to the imitation of proceeding Emperours, That no Pope should be exalted without the consent of Emperiall authoritie. When the Emperours had recouered *Rome* from the *Gothes Iustinian* did not only eiect *Vigilius* but made him come to *Constantinople* to be iudged, offering to the people of *Rome* his Arch-deacon *Pelagius* whereupon they thanked the Emperour, willing him to suffer *Vigilius*, and after his death to establish whom he pleased, which right did so continue with the seate imperiall, that Saint *Gregorie* the greate durst not honour himselfe with his titles before he had receaued the imperiall confirmation of his pontificate.

Finally if we come to speake of the confirmations of councels and canons, which is the last point of Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, we also finde that nothing was solid vntill the imperiall approbation was conioyned to the spirituall. The Rolles of the decrees of the counsell of *Nice* and *Constantinople* were presented to *Constantine* and *Theodosius* to be subscribed and authorised by them; against which foresaide policie of the primitiue Church so farre depending vpon the Emperour, I know not what we can pretend, vnlesse we will be like those ignorant *Gnostickes* of whom *Irenaus* doth make mention in the

fourth

fourth Chapter of his third booke, who held this opinion that while God did commaund vs to obey superiot powers he did accommodat that command to the condition of persons and tymes: and that the Church is not now in minoribus as she was then; but out of *Pagerie*, and able to commaund her selfe. Certayne the lawe of God is immutable and eternall and doeth not suffer eclipse, nor is subiect to the measure of our fantasies. If one will say the dealing of *Arrian* Kings with the church vnder the crosse, is not to be drawne in example, what shall we say to the Iurisdiction of *Constantine* the greate the first patron of the Church, who tooke vpon him in his tyme to establish Bishops and had at his death *Athanasius* vnder his Iudicature: and what shall we answere to *Charlemaine* a great fauourer of the Church & to his son *Lues Debonaire* who sent to Rome to iudge a Pope for the murther of *Theodore* a Romane Senatour of the French deuotion, wherein the Pope was forced to cleere himself by the kings owne appointment as the letters of Pope *Leon* to *Lues* to that effect doth import; Thus, if we haue done any thing out of purposse in that processe we are readie to amend it by your owne officers, whom weentreate you to send out well disposed men to take triall of that matter. The ecclesiasticall histories, and the liues of Popes where they are written beso ful of such testimonies and so plaine into them, I thought it not necessarie to quote them particularlie.

So concluding this generall Theme in fauours of the lawfull authoritie of Kings, I say the primitiue Church had neuer a Bishop nor Pope who did refuse to submit himselfe to the imperiall Iurisdiction, after the example and doctrine of Christ, in such manner that we are to esteeme all this contrary clergie of Papall parasites, to be a false and bastard Theologie of ambitious monsters who striue to vsurpe that power which God hath reserued to himselfe, of disposing of *Kings and Diadems of the world*, after the way of his secret and diuine pro-

prouidence: which power is so alone to him that no mortall flesh may participate of it, as *Daniel* doth approoue in the Dreame of *Nebuccadnezar*: *Altissimus habet Potestatem super Regna hominum & dat illa cui vult, & constituit super illa homines vilissimos*: The most High hath power ouer the Kingdomes of men, hee giueth them to whom hee will, and placeth in them most vile men. And the Prophet *Esay* in this point, in the person of the Ethnicke *Cyrus*, he doth propheſie his victories, hee calleth him the Lords Anoynted; of whom God did say, Whose right hand I haue holden to subdue Nations before him: he ordayned him to be obeyed, saying, *Ve ei qui litigauerit contra factorem suum*: Woe bee to him who doth question with his Maker. *Numquid lutum dicet fictori suo quid facis?* Shall the Clay say to the Potter, What dost thou make? Then hee concludeth, saying, I haue rayled him, and he shall let my people goe, not for money, but freely. When God commanded, *Nolite tangere vnctos meos*, hee did not except *Saul* more then *David*; *Balthasar*, more then good King *Iosias*: what then, shall these miserable and wretched potshrads of these times reason with their Maker, when he saith, *Dedi eis Regem in furore meo & reguare facit hypocritam propter peccata Populi?* What, shal they haue a count of him? or how doe they not heare the voyce of the Prophets, of Christ himselfe, of the Apostles, of the Fathers, of the primitiue Church? all consentient, and contrary to that poysoned doctrine of *Rome*, inuented and maintayned by the Iesuites, where (in place of these sacred priuiledges yeelded vnto Christian Princes, as is said, consisting in foure or fiue points of Soueraignity in the Ecclesiasticall gouernment) wee shall heare foure or fiue such Maximes as these. To Christ is giuen all power in Heauen and Earth: and Christ hath giuen the keyes of all to Saint *Peter*: therefore the Pope his successor hath all power also of Heauen and Earth: hee is aboue Kings, and may translate and destroy their authoritie: he is a-

Esa. 45.

boue generall Councells, and may inhibit them, hauing all power in his owne perſon. In place of Chriſtian Apoſtolike and reuerent ſpeeches of Monarchs & Kings, there is to be heard faſtuous & contemptible inuectiues againſt them, ſerpentine inſinuations to cut the throat of their Royall power, to depoſe them, ſpoyle their eſtates, and inuade their liues, and theſe by exoterick or publike writtes: and who will be curious of their acroamaticke, or hidden and cloyſterall doctrine, ſhall bee taught to vnderſtand this ground for all, that after the raigne of the Antichriſt, all Nations are to be collected vnder one Paſtor, and to obey him: and to that effect God doth eſtabliſh and raiſe ſome puiſſant Chriſtian authoritie, which ſhould be in the occident, as ſome Rabbins and Iewiſh Doctors, who became thereafter Chriſtians, haue obſerued by theſe myſticall wordes of our Sauiour vpon the Croſſe, *Veueh chi hammaſſiah theſche nitlaſh hanneſt himneth hu daieth roſcho daiphen nalt ſarphat dareth rachen nalcha*: That is to ſay, *Et erit poſtquam Meſſias ſuſpenſus fuerit in ligno, ecce ipſe inclinabit caput ſuum, & proſpiciens ad occidentem dixit miſerebor tui.* The *French*, ſay they, doth expound this myſterie of the Grandor of the *French* Crowne, becauſe their Princes were myraculouſly brought vnto the Chriſtian faith, receiuing the *Flower-de-Luce* ſent from heauen, as their Stories record, with a ſupernaturall power to heale the *Ecruelles* by touching, which Flower is holden ſacred, and in holy Scripture is recommended aboue all other Flowers, being imployed in the worke of the great Candleſticke made by *Moſes*, and after vſed by *Salomon*, who built the Temple, whereof *Moſes* drew the figure: ſo that they eſteeme this Flower to be the true hyerogliphicke of their faith, and hold it yet for their Armories: they haue beene mightie promoters of Gods Church by deſtroying floods of Arrians, Gots, and Viſigotti in *Spaine*, in the daies of *Carollo Martello*, and *Pipino* his ſonne, by their expulſion of *Longobards*, and ſuccouring of the

seat Apostolicall, vnder *Carolus Magnus*, by their exploits in the *Orient*, about the conquest of *Ierusalem*, vnder the Armes of *Godfried de Bullion*, and his partners; and by their Christian enterprises against the *Saracenes*, vnder *Ludouicus sanctus*, their King. All these doe comfort the *French* (say they) to presume that this mysterie vpon the Crosse was in fauours of them.

Againe, the *Spaniard* doth take it vnto him, because he hath done so many things for extension and securing of the Catholike faith, affronting the *Turke* in all quarters, and planting Christian Religion among the barbarous *Indians*: but the secret of the mistery (say they) is, that the power which is prophesied in the *Apocalyps*, doth pertaine to the sea Apostolicall, and to the person of the Pope: To him who keepeth my works to the end will I giue power ouer al Nations, he shal rule them with a rod, of Iron, and as the vessell of a Potter shall they bee broken, saith the Spirit of God in that place: whereby is meant the Pope, who onely of all men cannot erre. I haue alwaies sufficiently cleered to your Lordship the mindes and practises of the Fathers of the Primitiue Church in this poynt of Princes. Now that I may not seeme to caluminate the Iesuite, I will summarily shew how he hath peruerted this doctrine, and poysoned it with his *Absynthium*. Next, I will relate how his preuarication and falshood is impugned by Catholike *Romans* themselues, the *French* Church, and that famous *Palladium* of *Sorbon*. And lastly, I will discourse a little of the desligne of this pernicious doctrine, which is a diuelish plot of fearefull ambition, by length of time, to draw the whole world vnder the superstitious hyerarchy of *Rome*, both in temporality and spirituality, if it bee not preuented. Apoc. 2.

There be three grounds of this doctrine tied together in one chaine, which in effect be but one thing teaching the Soueraigne power of the Pope ouer Princes, which power is extended by three Armes, power ouer their

soule to excommunicate, power ouer their states and crownes to depriue, and power ouer their bodies to giue warrant to kill them: which indeed is all the power the Pope doth claime on earth. For as touching his being aboue generall Counsels, it is but all one with his being aboue Christian Princes, to whom belongeth the authoritie to conuocate, and rule Counsels: I will omit for breuities sake to speake of any other writer among the Iesuits, but onely of *Bellar:*, who is their predominant plannet. Touching the persons of Kings (saith hee vpon this point) the Pope may not albeit there be iust cause, depose them, in the same sort as he doth Bishops, that is to say, as a ciuill ordinarie iudge. Neuertheless, saith he, he may as a Soueraigne Prince spirituall, if it be necessarie for mens soules, change kingdomes, taking from one, giuing them to another, the first possessor being excommunicate (as we shall prooue) saith he, pag. 1081. of that booke imprinted, Anno 1601. Then for proofe he doth introduce all the treasonable enterprises of Christian people, which are not onely contrary to Gods will in his holy word, but are detestably abhorred by the relation made of them in ciuill histories, Cap. 7. of the same, wherby one may manifestly note that the intestine calamities of Christendome these many yeeres past, rising from this wicked vsurpation ouer lawfull Christian Princes, hath bene the truest cause of the encrease of the Mahometan Empire. And it is marueilous to see how *Bellarmine* doth there so impudently striue to confirme that extrauagant of *Vnam sanctam de maiorit. & obedient.* so solemnely condemned by the greatest part of the Romane Clergie, chiefly by the French Church. Like as the whole bodie of the Iesuits vnder one generallitie maintaine the same in an Apologie of theirs set foorth to the same end, vnder the Title of the Veritie defended, and in the last impression of the same, pag. 42. for by that Extrauagant, if the Pope should transgresse to thunder excommunication vniustly against the best Princes,

First contre. 3. lib. 5. cap. 6.

yet

yet no mortall man might take notice of it, nor craue it to be reformed: but not content to deale this way with pretended hereticall Princes, he layeth an ambush before the best & most vertuous Kings, he keepeth ouer their heads *Virgam vigilantem*. In this manner, he doth exempt generally from Regall Iurisdiction whatsoeuer Ecclesiasticall persons: contending by many instances and iterations of words to confuse that Text of Saint *Paul*, *Omnis anima subdita sit superiis potestat*: Let euery soule be subiect to superiour powers, for there is no power but of God, and the puissances which be, are ordained of him: which he doth repeat in this sort, whosoeuer doth resist power, doth resist the ordinance of God, and shall receiue Iudgement of God, saith he, reseruing the Equiuocating of the Text, because he would haue vs to thinke that all Supreame power is in the Pope, vpon this Text *Chrysostome* doth obserue, that these are not onely spoken of the Laicke, but for the Religious, yea and for the Apostles themselues (saith he) But *Bellarmine* saith in the same Treatise, pag. 255. that the Pope hath taken all Ecclesiasticall persons, from the power of Princes tecular: So that they are no more their subiects (saith he) which in effect is no other then to build a forraigne State within a Kings Realme, and so doth he himselfe affirme in the same place; It is, saith he, as if a Prince should set ouer a part of his Dominion vnto a stranger: for then hee behoued to loose it. Thereafter he saith the lawes of Princes, albeit they be not contrarie to Gods word, yet can they not bind a Religious person except it be *ad directionem, non autem ad coactionem*, pag. 269. of the said clericall exemption, concluding pag. 271. that the Prince doth lose the Clergie, and is no more their Soueraigne, maintaining it so obstinately, that he doth obuiat such things as might be obiected in the contrary. If, saith he, yee hold it an iniury done to Kings, to spoyle them of their authoritie, which they had ouer those men before they entered into the Clergie, I answere that he that in-

ioyeth his owne right doth wronge to no man: one may chooſe ſuch a calling as he thinkes meeteſt for himſelfe, therefore hee who entereth into the order Eccleſiaſt: doth no iniurie to Kings, albeit the King loſe a ſubiect *per accidens*, by that act, (ſaith he.)

This Clericall exemption hath a ſtrange conſequence, that the attemps of Religious men againſt their natiue Princes, ſhall be no Treaſon becauſe they are not their Subiects. The aſſaſſinate of *Iaco Clement* no treaſonable murther. And the Ieſuite-*Emanuel Sa* in his Aphoriſmes of confeſſion doth plainely hold it, treating of this word *Clericus*, ſaying, *Clerici Rebellio non eſt crimen læſæ maieſtatis quia non eſt ſubditus Regi*: The Rebellion of a religious man is no act of Treaſon whatſoeuer be doe, becauſe he is not a Kings ſubiect. And againe, gloſing vpon the word *Princeps & Rex. Poteſt Rex priuari per Rempublicam ob Tyrannidem, & cum eſt cauſa aliqua iuſta elegi alius a maiore parte populi*: The King for Tyrannie may be depriued by the Common weale, and when there is cauſe, an other choſen in his ſtead by the greateſt part of the people: but then to let you ſee, that all that proceſſe muſt depend from the Pope: vpon the word *Tyrannus*, they doe reaſon thus, *Tyrannice gubernans non poteſt ſpoliari ſine publico Iudicio, lata vero ſententia poteſt quiſque fieri Executor, poteſtq; deponi a populo qui iurauerit ei obedientiam perpetuam*: He who raigns Tyrannouſly cannot be ſpoyled of his dominion vntill the publike ſentence bee pronounced, which once done, he may be depriued by any: yea by the ſame ſubiects who did ſweare to him perpetuall obedience. This publike ſentence we muſt vnderſtand is *Excommunicatio Maior*, proceeding from the Pope. How theſe Aphoriſmes doe agree with the doings of the Primitiue Church, let the moſt ignorant iudge whither they bee not ſeaſoned with their wormewood.

Vpon theſe two foundations of excommunication and depriuation doth of neceſſitie follow the third, to

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wit murther of Kings, first thundered, next elected, thirdly slaine, and doctrinall grounds set downe to authorise the same, *Gean Guignart* in his treatise vpon the murther of *Henry* the third a good Prince and a catholike Romane, he doth stablish two propositions, one, that the cruel *Nero* was murthered by a deliuering *Clement*, whose heroicall act inspired by the holie spirit was to be reputed iust and lawfull, yea and most laudable, next, that the crowne of *France* ought to be transposed to another Race, and the *Biarnois* (so doth he disdainfullie call the french king) he ought to haue a monasticall crowne, that is to say, to be shauen and condemned to the cloyster (albeit he was become a catholike Romane) which if he would not accept, they should by force of armes elect him, or deprive him of his life. *Ambrose Varades* principall of the Iesuites Colledge at Paris, was found the instigatour of Barrier against the late king immediatly after his conuersion to the Church of Rome, Chastell who strooke him in the mouth confessed that he was taught by Iesuites that it was an act of extraordinarie great godlinesse to kill him because he was no lawfull king although he was conuerted, vntill he was receiued by the Pope, A letter was found of father *Commelet* a man most famous among them for prudence, and grauitie, bearing these words, we must haue an *Æod*, let him be a monke, a souldier or a sheepheard it is no matter, we must haue an *Æod*, for the assassinat or slaughter of King *Henrie* the third so did their absynthian vniuersallie poyson all, that euen in the *Serbon* it was concluded in fauour of the Pope, that his excommunication and murther was both lawful and wel acted, *William Parry* confessed at his death that *Benidillo Paulo* & *Aniball Codreto* Iesuites did perswade him that it was a most religious act to surprise the life of the *late Queene of England a good Princesse replenished with Pietie & vertue* And who should heare the true relation of the state of Polonia since the entrie of the *Iesuites* there, he should

heare

heare of more wicked & secret practises during that time, then for hundreths of yeeres before, This is the doctrine and these are the practises of Papall pride with the Christian Kings of this age: which being paralelled with these of the primitiue fathers, it is easie to marke the antithesis.

So to ende this particular touching the Maxims of the Iesuisticke schooles, it is the glorie which they doe cary as a bright starre in the front of all their renoune, that they be daunters of puissant kings and it is found in their owne bookes in that treatise called *Summa constitutionum* imprinted at *Liens* Anno 1589. conteyning the gouernment of that societie, it is sayd *Tyrannos aggrediuntur & lolium ab agro Domini euellunt*: They inuade tyrants and roote out the cockle and filth from the Lords feild. And so invincible they be in this mischeuous doctrine, that albeit they vnderstood *Tanquerall* was condemned to vndergoe a great punishment and hardlie did escape his life Anno. 1561. for suffering this Theame touching the authoritie of kings to be called in question of the Sorbon, and to be disputed there, yet, so bould are they that euer since that tyme they did practise the court of parliament at Paris to fauour the same motion, albeit oftentimes it was despightfully reiected vpon suspition of that which in effect was found true, that they had couertly corrupted the Sorbon by sliding in among them some of their owne scolers, neither is there anie thing in all this more strange then to heare Cardinall *Bellarmine* his answere for that holy carriage of the fathers of the primitiue Church with Emperours and Kings of their Tyme, it was, sayth he, more necessarie in that time of the primitiue Church, to admonish Christian people to obey temporal powers least otherwise the preaching of the Gospell had beene hindered, The case being altered now when the Church is in full authoritie & power her selfe which (fie for shame) is no other then to make the word of God to be a religi-

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on of Foxes, a doctrine of sophistrie, a profession of Equiuocation & consequently he of Periurie: *quia qui dubitat, bi mentitur & bis peiurat* as *Cicero* saith, as if vpon these words *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*, Christ would say to his Apostles and successours, that they should obey Princes so long as they were vnder the Crosse, and could doe no otherwise, but when they should beginne to floorish and get the winde vpon them, that then they should change the stile of the Euangell, and teach a contrarie doctrine, a doctrine not of Christ but of the ambitious schoole of Machiuel, to the slayne of Gods glorie who hath made no law but onfor kings of Israel for kings of the primitiue Church, and for all who haue followed; vpon which point, and vpon these words of our Sauiour *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo* we may heare *S. Augustine*, as it were vpon the Theater of the world making a proclamation, to secure all authorities from such feare & Iealousie, *Audite* (saith he) *Iudei & gentes, audi populum, audite omnia Regna terrena non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo*; O heere yee Iewes and gentiles, yee circumcised and vncircumcised, heere yee all the kingdomes of the earth, Christ maketh no stoppe nor opposition to your authorities temporall, and we reade S. *Bernard* vpon this text in the 12. of Saint *Luke*, where one said to Christ master tel my brother *vt mecum diuidat hereditatem* that he may diuide our heritage, he answered *homo quis me constituit Diuisorem aut Iudicem super vos*: who appointed me a iudge ouer you or diuider of your lands, whereupon Saint *Bernard* saith *stetisse lego Apostolos iudicandos, sedisse iudicantes non lego*: I read (saith hee) that that the Apostles stood to be iudged: but that they did sit to iudge, I read not. Their successors indeed, the Bishops of the primitiue Church, at the command of their Soueraigne Emperors, did take vpon them to be Iudges, Councellors, Embassadors, as I haue related: and that because being Subiects of the Empire, they were bound to obey, as *Constantine* the great wrote vnto them: but

Bernard lib. 1. de consid.

these ciuill imployments were not due to their Episcopall function. Mercy God! what wonderfull difference is here? Christ would not vsurpe so much of temporall power, as to march a small piece of heritage for pacifying of two brethren, being pressed vnto it: the Pope doth affirme, that he hath right of marching, and where? betwixt *Cancer* and *Capricorne*, betwixt the Arctique and Antarctique circles, nay, betwixt the North and South Poles, betwixt the Occident and the Orient: he hath the right of diuision ouer all the earthly Globe: he hath by his *Bulls* deuided the East from the West *Indies*, and hath distributed them betwixt the *Spaniard* and the *Portugall* first: and now againe hath giuen all vnto the *Spaniard*.

Doctrine of the Romane Churches for Princes. lib. 2. cap. 8.

Next I come to tell your Lordship how this doctrine of Papall Soueraignitie is impugned by the catholicke Romanes; Paruormitanus that learned Bishop hath written against that opinion of the Popes being aboue generall counsels. And therefore by *Baronius* and *Bellarmin* is counted a schismaticke, one *Nicholas de Cusa* in a treatise *de concordia Cathol.* hath done the same perfectlie, saying, *vniuersale concilium maioris est authoritatis & minoris fallibilitatis quam Papa tantum*: The Counsels haue more authority and lesse fallability then the Pope alone. *Paulus Venetus* vpon these late distractions of Venice from the Pope, hath made it plaine by many Treatises, but the fountaine of that truth hath beene in France, kept pure and incorruptible, with many dispures at seuerall times, for the libertie of their Princes, as their stories beare: namely in the time of *Philip* the faire; So that this question is cleerely handled of *Gerson*, who for his excellent learning was Chauncellor of the Sorbon, He hath expressely written (forbearing to speake of particular points of the Papall authoritie) *De Auferibilitate Papæ ab Ecclesia*, of certaine cases and possibilities wherein the Church of Rome ought to want a Pope, and hath put it downe in twentie seuerall considerations (as hee termes

termes them) from which the generall Counsels haue lawfull power to pronounce a *Nullity of the Pope*. All which as any man may perceiue who doth read them, are founded vpon the solid conclusion of S. *Thomas*, *Claues Regni celorum dicit sunt* (saith he) *Potestas ordinis*, The keyes of heauen were giuen to *Peter* in type of vnitie of the whole Church. Whereon *Caietan* in his second consideration doth establish the same ground, saying, they were giuen *Non vni, sed omnibus*, not to one man, but to the vnitie of one Church. And in his twelfth consideration what Christ gaue to Saint *Peter*, (saith he) It was not giuen vnto him, but vnto the Church, because it was giuen *vniuersim*. Therefore saith hee, the whole Church may (the Pope being absent) *Exercere authoritatem suæ plenitudinis*, vse the fulnesse of their authoritie. In that twelfth consideration, he doth induce the Apostolicall example, when *Paul Galat.* 2. did reprehend Saint *Peter*, that he brought nouelties into the Church. A murmuration grew, Act. 10. so that *Peter* was compelled according to his owne Doctrine, *Patere esse, ac Cæsar* saith, *Cui auctoritas Ecclesiæ summa cedere, dubium Ecclesiæ esse non debuisse*, To prepare himselfe to render an account before the whole Church, otherwise he had not beleeued him, in the same consideration, against he reasons thus; The Papall power is giuen to the Church for her edification, and not for her destruction; and therefore such a power may be suspended or taken away from one who would abuse it to her perill. And what else is this then to say that the Pope hath the place of a moderator so long as he is modest, or that he thinks the Church could well enough want the Papall authoritie, Then doth he passe from the theorick of the question to the practise, by supposing what disorder or insufficiencie might fall into the person of a Pope. If (saith he) that the Pope will teach, that the holy Ghost doth not proceede from the Father & the Son; must not the Church resist it? if (said he) an other Pope would ordain the Kingdom

of *France* to be sacked with fire and sword, *resistere debet Rex*, the King ought to resist. And so in his tenth consideration, if he be, saide hee, the Pope should inuade a man perforce, and this man in his owne defence, *si Papam in Mare proiecerit*, if hee should fling the Pope into the Sea, he doth it lawfully: then should it much more be permitted and lawfull (saith he) for the whole Church to cast out a Pope for her owne prescrution, by these twenty Considerations of the occasions of the *Papall Nullity* one may well see how hee thought that Popery was a foolish and dangerous humane institution, as it is indeed.

Lastly, I will in few wordes open the mysterie and designe of this Iesuiticall doctrine, that every one may know how to pull downe his maske, and see the leaprous face of his ambition. How this Papall Towr hath beene builded, Histories bee so full of it, and it is so triuiall, that I need not to insist in it, by the weaknesse of the Empire, by the remotenesse of Emperours, their naughtinesse, by the subtilitie of Popes, euer studying to keepe some dangerous enemies vpon the shoulders of the Empire, till they might get some aduantage, by their fostering of perpetuall discords among Christian Princes and neighbour States, for the like end, that they might haue the better meanes to ouerthrow one of the sides, and to increase themselues vpon their ruines, *Crescit enim Roma Alba ruinis*, by the crafty practising of ignorant Bishops, first, to repayre to *Rome*, as for the commodity of the place: next, to doe nothing without their consent: thirdly, to make appellation there, still keeping the seedes of dissention among Prelates for that purpose, till they contriued that inuention of the Vniuersall Bishop. Alwaies the Iesuites, who haue lately cropen in, that the Cup of iniquitie may be the sooner full, and that the world may the sooner see the reuelation of the Beast, who seeketh to bee adored of all Princes and people. They haue a desperate profession not to obey

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God, nor to obey the Pope; nor the Church of *Rome*, but to obey their generall, *per Omnia, & in Omnibus tanquam Christo præsenti*, as we read in their *Summa Constitutionum*, pag. 307. The glory of their obedience doth stand in undergoing trauailes and dangers for propagation of the Church of *Rome*: and to that end they haue gone through the World, as I haue saide, like vnto *Pandora*, that wretched and fatall Ambassatrix of fierce *Nemesis* carrying their boxes full of all sorts of profound and curious learning: but, alas, fearefully infected with *Absynthium*, to poyson the waters of true knowledge, and corrupt our vnderstanding, they haue braue spirits, astonishing tongues, and eloquent words, with all kinde of serpentine insinuation that may serue to steale away our mindes from the puritie of Gods worship, and from our dutifull obedience to our Soueraigne Princes: *Venenum aspidum sub labijs eorum*: vnder their lippes is hidden the venome of Aspes: *De laqueis venantium libera nos Domine*: Deliuer vs, O Lord, from the snares of the Hunters: *Facti sunt quasi arcus dolosus*: They are made like a deceitfull bow: *Sicut decipula plena auibus ita Domus eorum plena dolo*: As the Fowlers Cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of fraud. Psal. 13. Psal. 90. Hose. 7. Ierem. 5.

To speake briefly of the *Cabbal* or secret Art of this Iesuistique trade, it standeth in their constant obseruation of certaine, sure, and infallible policies, for the exaltation of the Papall Chayre, which is the maine scope of all their studies, because one day they thinke to possesse it themselues (as it hath already well neere fallen out to be so, when in the election of the late Pope, the conclaue did hang sixe dayes vpon Cardinall *Bellarmine*) which, whensoeuer it commeth to passe, then they will preferre so many of their societie to the Cardinaltie, that we shall bee sure neuer to see any more a Pope but Iesuistique. The Maximes whereupon they doe build this fabrique, bee specially these.

First, they know that obedience and secrecie are the strongest:

strongest meanes to maintaine a Sect, and to compasse great plots: therefore they haue sworne their obedience absolute, not to the Pope nor to the Church, but to their generall, *in omnibus & per omnia tanquam Christo presenti*, as is said: and therefore their *arcana imperij*, the mysteries of their policies are most close, and reserued from the world.

Secondly, they know this to bee a true Maxime in gouernment, that no great power can longer flourish then it doth make it selfe vseful, necessary, and formidable to neighbour States: and finding that those things whereby the Popes were steadable and necessary to people and Countries, such as their Dispensations, Purgatoriall Indulgences, force of excommunication, Vniuersall title of Benefices ecclesiastique, were become distastfull and hated of most men, because of their open abuses and impieties, and that wise Kings were beganne to prye into them, chiefely those of *England*, therefore the Iesuites, to repayre this breach, did inuent this pernitious doctrine of the Popes Supremacie ouer the temporalitie of Princes, to the end that no King should finde himselfe secure but in the fauour and trust of *Rome*.

Thirdly, they see, that besides the aforesaide abuses, two things did specially parrell the Papall Seat, one was the Immundities and ignorance of the Cloyster, religious men being giuen to their pleasures, and not to pietie and learning, which was the first occasion of the *Lutherian* seperation, as we know: another was, that light and reformation did come into the Church by pastorall vigilance expressed by all meanes of most powerfull preaching, disputing, and writing in that age, which hath followed since *Luther*: for helpe of the first of these two, the Iesuites doe professe such a puritie in their Celibate, as (to giue them their due) is admirable: *Sine fuerit caste, sine fuerit caute*: if it were not that the flames of raging ambition doe ordinarily extinguish these humide and beastiall passions in any man almost. For

helpe of the second wee see that a glory and pride of learning in all Sciences is in them; as one saide, *Imperia sum literarum est penes Iesuitas*: as if they had resolued to ouershoote our reformators in their owne bow, and to banniſh light out of the Church by the ſame armes that brought it in, for this cauſe it is, why they doe attacke themſelues to the confeſſions of great and chiefe perſonages, and to the education of the moſt Noble youth, whereſoeuer they are, which they doe performe with a ſort of myraculous dexteritie, gathering out among them vnto their owne ſocietie, the moſt quicke, ſubtill, and vehement Spirits, by whom (*tanquam per maximos daemones*) they doe the more eaſily, ſurely, and ſecretly infect all the corners of the earth with their perſtiferous traditions.

Fourthly, they holde this *maxime*, which is lyke enough to be true that religion muſt ſhute out and flouriſh with a growing ſtate, and therefore preſuming that of *Spaine* to be moſt diſpoſed to monarchie they haue deuoted themſelues to the ſeruice of that Crowne, for two reſpectes, one that with the dilatation thereof they alſo may proſper and encreaſe, as they haue already by his meanes planted themſelues into the *Indes*, an other, that hauing abuſed him to the ouerthrow of other chriſtian princes, he may in ende be the more weake himſelfe, and obnoxious to their tyranie, knowing how eaſie it will be for ſo ſkilfull craftesmen as they are, to ſuggeſt rebellion and revolt in his owne dominions which are not coniunct and vnited, but mightilie diſperſed, ſo that finallie they hope to conclude in their owne perſones that ſcripture, *Homo ſpiritualis omnia iudicat & ipſe a nemine iudicatur*. In ſuch manner that we doe now cleerly ſee in them that which the great politicke *Machivell* ſaid in his tyme, that if the pouertie of the Capuchines and clergie of the Ieſuites, had not come tymouſly in the Church of Rome, to vpholde the papall dignitie and credite, they had euen then fallen to the ground, thus is

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it no calumnie, but a moſt true & prudent obſeruation of this tyme to affirme; that no age hath euer ſeene ſuch fearefull fyrebrandes and terrours, ſuch errant ſtarres ſo malignant and contrarious to chriſtian felicitie, as is that ſocietie of pretended Ieſuites.

They do obtrude vpon the world that pernicious doctrine of the papall power to excõmunicate to deprive, to warrant murthers of kings, to the effect that by length of tyme Popes being cunning to quarrel with neighbour Princes and to drawe their ſubiects from them, their ſtates may fall into the Ocean of this ambition, which doeing is ſo open and manifeſt that in the hiſtories of Spayne we finde it acknowledged that they holde Portugall of the ſocietie of the Ieſuites, in the union of Portugall printed at Genua. fol: 197. & 214. the chiefe driſt of this doctrine hath beene againſt the kingdome of great Britan and againſt the French kings theſe many yeere ſince, as we haue perceaued, becauſe in their deſigned monarchie they find much more difficultie to paſſe by theſe two, then to haue ouerpaſſed the pillars of *Hercules*, whereupon doth ſtand that great word of their glorie, *plus vltra*: becauſe they went with the ſpaineyard to the Indies. Brittane and France theſe be the two pillars which doe limitate this Ieſuiſtick pryde, and whereon they ſtil doe read this contrary *Motto*, *vſque ad metas*, which hath beene the cauſe why ſo manie treacherous attempts haue partly beene executed againſt King *Henry* the third of France, and againſt that moſt heroicall Prince *Henry* the fourth, whom I thinke the Lord hath ſuffered to fall into their bloudie handes, becauſe he did contemne the monitions which wer made to him before, for after his perſon had beene inuaded, and he ſtricken in the mouth with a knife, whereupon the high parliament of Paris did pronounce the edict of their baniſhment, and erected a pyramide to remaine the perpetuall teſtimonie of their villanous perfidie, he did pardon them, reſtore them, and truſt them, and partlie

I ſay

I say, these attempts haue ben in the great mercie of God preuented when they haue beene plotted against the life of our most gratious Soueraign, as the whole world doth know, namely by that diabolical machination of thundering massacre, bred in the tempestuous ayer of these infernall spirits, the Lord God by a miraculous inspiration made his maiestie to foresee that hellish cloude of powder, before the fire was yet broken out; The memorie whereof should make this whole kingdome to shake for feare, and to cry to God that it would please him to preserue his sacred person from these cruell Hunters, because he is now the principall obiect of their malignitie and that prince of all the earth whom they doe most feare & hate, Seeing how God who hath raysed his horne, hath also iustified his exaltation by markes more like to *Moses* and *Solomon* then vnto Cyrus, he hath not onelie holden his right hand, and possessed it with monarchiall state, strong & feareful to his enemies as he hath done to *Cyrus* & made numbers of strange nations who did before striue to depresse him, come to honour and admire his regall throne: come to aske of him the peace of their people which he hath done also vnto *Cyrus*, saying, The labour of Egypt, the merchandice of Ethiopia and of the Sabines shal come to thee, men of stature shal come to thee and fall downe before thy face, saying, God is surelie in thee, which we haue seene come to passe, by ouerflowing of his maiesties court with forraine people, with forraigne riches, and forraigne presents, and by the glorious Spainyard his solicitation of his maiesties wisedome to further his peace with the Netherlands: But the lord also hath granted vnto his maiestie the vnderstanding of *Moses* to build his tabernacle to restore vnto his people the primitiue Gouernment of the Church, approoued by catholike antiquytie, for a prognosticat that he intendeth to make him the instrument of farther reformation in Christendome; And he hath granted vnto him Solomon like, knowledge and learning to mayntayne by

publicke wryts, the riches of his royall Soueraignitie against all those insidious grounds of the craftie Iesuite, which is the reason why I must boldly affirme it, that there is none of that societie in the world who doth loue his person in other tearmes then *Cicero* loued *Octauius* when he called him *bonum puerum & colendum*. To proceede, there is neither Prince prelate nor priest within the Church of Rome who hath not his displeasure, against this doctrine derogatiue to kings, except Italians Spainiards and Iesuites, because that Papall supremacie doth challenge to be aboue the generall counsels, taking from Catholike princes that libertie to conuocate them, which was due to their predecessors in the primitiue church, because it doeth debarre all Cardinalles except *Italians* from the papall dignitie, because it is onely granted to the Iesuites to go through and plant religion, hauing infinite priuiledges graunted vnto them for that cause which be hurtfull to all other order of secular and cloysterall priests; This is the reason why of these three Italians, Spaniards, Iesuites, there is not on who doth not eschew as a pest the meeting of generall counsels, for howsoeuer they doe pretend this *quod nunquam acquiescunt heritici* they must be vnnecessarie say they, because hereticks will neuer rest to the voice of counsels: yet this is the misterie and trueth, no cardinall must presume to sit in Saint Peters chayre, but an Italian, no king must ouerrule the consistorie in his election but the Spanyard whom also they thinke to deuoure in the end, albeit now he thinketh himselfe their Dictatour in *perpetuum*, and no prince but he may aspire to brooke an hereticall kingdome confiscat by the fulmination of Rome, by which kinde of tittles he doeth enioy the *Indies* and *Nauar* as the like hath bene graunted to his father *Phillip* the second, by Pope *Pius* Quintus, who did excommunicate the late Queene of England, nor no orders of Religion other then the Iesuites may be negotiatours in them, or knowe the secretes of this gouernment

uernment whereof this is a mayne pointe to decline generall Counsels, least these abuses should bee vrged to bee reformed: least the King of Great Brittaine should vrge the restitution of Patriarchall libertie, for the weale of the Catholike Church, least a French King vrge the residence againe of a Pope in Auignion, least both should concurre to controle this vsurped sisk of Rome, & so least the fruits of this forbidden Tree of their domination should be made common to all Princes alike, and to all Cardinals alike, the which mysterie most clearely did appeare in the Sessions and circumstances of the Counsell of Trent, for the Emperour *Charles* the fift, being a wise and religious Prince, and most studious by all meanes to pacifie the broyles of his Countreyes of Germanie, mooued by the Lutheran reformation, hee did by obstinate instance, hardly obtaine from the Pope the Conuocation of that Counsell, which as the Historie saith so soone as it was graunted him, *Tam cito compedes Pontifici iniectas existimant*, he thought that hee had put the Pope into chaines, hauing his whole designe to reforme the Church of Rome in matters of gouernement, of manners, and of grosser points of worship, by aduise and concurrence of the whole Christian Embassadours and Commissioners there; without respect to the Cardinals of Rome, who for all that did so *Italianize* and circumuent the Embassadours *Transmontani* (as they call them) making the French Embassadours to beleeue that the Emperour did vrge some secret course for himselfe with the Pope: enforming as much againe to the Embassadour of the Emperour against the French, they procured in priuate both their warrants in writ, without knowledge the one of the other, that nothing should be mooued in that Counsell but from the mouth of the *Nuncio* of Rome, whereupon did follow that nothing was disputed there, but points of meere doctrine; and these most rigorously concluded, while as that good Emperour had resolued to heale the Scandalized world, as is well vnder-

stood by that conference in Germanie which is called the Emperours *Interim*, where hee himselfe did condescend to the Matrimonie of Churchmen, to the administration of the Sacrament both in bread and wine, and other points which be holden hereticall in Rome: and during all his life time, he did mightily lament the deceit of that Counsell, which is to bee verified by diuers Autographicall letters, that is to say, written with his owne hand, and yet extant in the custodie of a Nephew of him who was French Embassadour at Trent in the foresaid Counsel, called Pibracke, dwelling at Paris as I take it: But they did more surely schoole the sonne of that Emperour, *Phillip* the second, and this *Phillip* now of Spaine, whom they haue really incorporate into the seate of Rome, making him to thinke, that he is perpetuall Dictator, as is said: and the Popes onely sonne and heire.

And becausse all this discourse is of experience, I will tell your *Lordship* how this was very quickely noted to me by a certaine entercourse which did happen to me Being at *Millaine* in *Lombardie*, I did behold vpon the Gates of that Citie the Armes of *Charlequint*, gloriously planted, with many stately inscriptions, among the which this was to be read, *Ad plantandam fidem & ad colligenda Regna dispersa à Deo destinatus*: Destinate by God for the plantation of the faith, and for the vnion of dispersed Kingdomes of the world: when I did obiect to one of my acquaintance of good vnderstanding, that *Destinatus ad plantandam fidem* was rather a title Apostolicall then Imperiall: Hee replyed to me, that it was Apostolicall: for (said hee) that Trinitie of the Godhead which is in heauen, of Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, hath deputed here below another Trinitie for earthly gouernment, vnder whose obedience all power must bee ranged: the *Pope* the Father, the King of *Spaine* the Sonne, and the Societie of the *Iesuites* the holy Ghost: so that the Inscription is thus to bee construed, said hee: The Iesuite,

who

who takes vpon him to bee the onely Plantator of the faith, being (as the holy Ghost of this Trinity) sent forth among stranger Princes to seduce their people to rebellion, by sowing into their hearts the seedes of superstition and sedition, which so soone as that Prince or King doth offer to punish, the Pope, who hath the place of the Father, he doth excommunicate him: and lastly, giue commission to the King of *Spaine* to inuade his Dominions, who hath the place of his onely Sonne and heyre, who only of all Princes doth vnderstand the right *Cabbal* of the Court of *Rome*, and is onely destined to execute that which is appoynted in the Councell of his Father: so that hee also is Apostolicall, saide this Gentleman, who was a *Frenchman*, and a true enemie to the *Spaniard*, as may be seene by this ingenious and pretty conceit. Thus it is no more a mysterie, but reuealed to all the world which way the ambition of this Beast doth tend: first, debarring from the benefit of generall Councels, *Lutherans*, of whom some were cruelly burnt against their safe conduct and publike faith of the world: secondly, debarring Protestants, which ought not to bee, because they haue still called for reformation: thirdly, debarring the Catholike Romane Clergie it selfe, giuing out for doctrine, that the Pope is aboue all generall Councels, which is done so impudently, that the Cardinalls, *Barronio* and *Bellarmine* haue not beene ashamed to condemne that great *Panormitan Bishop*, because from this text, *Omnis anima subdita sit Superioribus potestatibus*: he prooueth the Pope to bee subiect to generall Councells: and finally, not onely spoyling Christian Princes their powers to conuocate Councells, debarring them also, but vsurping ouer their authorities temporall, and inuading their States and liues.

I haue detained your *Lordship* so long vpon this point of the Papall Soueraignity, and of the Iesuiticall trade, *quia plurimi interest*, because it concernes your *Lordship*, you, I say, and all those who be of your profession, chiefe-

lie who be of your *Lordships* Noble rancke, it concernes you neerely to bee well informed heere: this is the very place of danger, it is the insatiable mouth of the deuouring Monster of our Age: it is the gulfe which hath swallowed puissant Kings and flourishing Kingdomes. This venemous doctrine is like vnto that Lady, of whom *Tacitus* writeth, called *Locusta*, whose singular skill to temper Poyson so, that when it was most deadly, it wrought most vnperceiuedly, made her to bee called, *Maximum instrumentum imperij*: A great and necessary Instrument of the Empire, and much made of vnder *Nero*. This doctrine doth attrappe and snare the liues of greatest Monarkes before they can be aware. It is a drinke of some new *Cyrce*, changing men into brutall Beasts, that they haue no more sense of humanitie, or respect (what shall say?) to themselues, their wiues and children: no, that is small, but not to their sacred Princes, nor to our common Mother, their Natiue Countreye, not caring to cast into the mouth of this Monster millions of innocent soules, not making no account to sprinckle the Altars of their *Cyrce* with the annoynted bloud of their Soueraigne Kings: yea, before she should want her nefand and barbarous sacrifice, they will offer vnto her the bloud of their owne hearts: let vs remember *Clement Rauliacke*, *Perse*, and his wretched complices: So pittifully are they enchaunted with constant and desperate madnesse. We must be afraid of the Iesuite, and of his potion: he will tell vs, that constancie in faith is able to ouercome all things, as it is indeed when it is inspyred by the good Spirit of God: but (alas) he will tell vs that constancy to prosecute great actions or enterprises is like to an hecticke feuer, which scarcely is felt at the first assault, but by continuance it ouerthroweth the strongest bodies. He will tell vs, that oftentimes God doth compassion their teares shed for their brethren, Martyred vnder tyrannous hereticall Kings, euen by stirring vp within their Courts and Cabinets, a *Bru-*

tus

tus an *Aeod*, inspired with courage and constancy to reuenge his owne cause: God of his mercy preserue Christian Princes from these brutish spirits. That *Brutus* is a dangerous fellow, be where he will, wee read of *Brutus*, that he did glory in the murther of *Cæsar* in these termes, *Non solum non Cæsari, sed ne patri quidē meo si reuiuiscat conceſſerim, ego totius orbis terrarū liberator, vt me patrum plus legibus ac Senatu poſſit.* I the deliuerer of the whole world, would not on onely not suffer *Cæsar*, but not my owne Father to doe these things, yet this was but a cause of state, and he was onely an hereticke in policie: if he then would haue murthered his Father, as he did in effect, for he was thought the naturall sonne of *Cæsar*, albeit not lawfull, what shall we then looke for, from these brutish beastes of our age, who haue a cause of conscience, and an errour in their soule, which once being infected with that diuelish pride, to be called deliuering *Aeods* of Gods people, what is so hainous that they will not perpetrat? *Brutus* was much beloued and bound to *Cæsar*, yet that would not keepe vp his hand from impious paricide, hee was among the first of his percussors, that *Cæsar* saide to him, *Tu etiam fili Brute:* This mentall reseruation of mens mindes, this wicked equiuocation of their maners, it maketh that complaint of *Momus* against *Iupiter*, to seeme more iust now then euer before, why hee did not make an open window into the breast of man, that the deepe of his heart might be seene, and God grant it doe not betray the foresight of the most wittie Princes, but that they in time discerne these beasts, and looke vpon them with the eies of that king of beasts the Lyon, whom nature hath made so vigilant ouer his owne safety, that he doth neuer sleepe but with open eies; as we haue two eyes in our head, and none in the members of our bodie, so Princes who are heads of the people, they must not only haue eyes for themselues, but eyes for the bodie of their estates to penetrate most hidden things, like vnto that Royall foule the Eagle, who being in the high

high ayre aboue, doth see small fishes in the bottome of the waters; and as our head hath a Nose to saupur, and a Mouth to taste, for the necessarie vse of our bodies, so they who bee our heads, must have, specially in these treacherous and vntrustie times, *Sagacissimum olfactum*, most quicke sensesable to smell the most secret disposition of their subiects: namely of these who liue about their persons, what shall we say then, of these holy Fathers, the Iesuites, who haue laid so dangerous nets in the high wayes of Christian Kings? and what shall we say of these their holy Disciples, who will not spare to murmur against their punishment, and to calumniate that sentence worthily lead by the Arch Bishop now of S. *Andrews* against *Iohn Ogilvy* the Iesuite at Glasgow, whose trafficke auowedly was to moue his Maiesties subiects after his owne example, to disclaime the authoritie of their most naturall and lawfull King. Of the Iesuits your Lo: hath my opinion, of those, be who they will, who haue commerce with them, or fauour them, (because I know your Lordship to be farre from being such) I say they are *hostes Patriæ, & hostis Principis*, they are no loyall subiects of the Prince, nor vpright members of this kingdome. I speake not rashly, I know as much as any of the Papists, who be of that profession, and more then many of them, and of that Act, at Glasgow, I say that many such seruices should make a man worthy to watch the Lyons tent, to haue his nest next the Eagle, and to sit neere the Rudder in the ship of the state.

Now to conclude this point, I appeale to the diuine light of your Lordships conscience, whether you doe not thinke in your heart (things being as I haue related) that this practising of the Court of Rome, is to play the beast of the Apocalips, who striueth to be worshipped of all the world, whither you doe not thinke that vnto her members doth belong the iudgement pronounced by *Ezekiel*, against those who courtise the world, and the flesh: *Dic omni volucri cœli, & omnibus auibus runcis quæ*

Ezek. 39.

to

bestijs, concurrite vndique, &c. Thus saith the Lord, speake to euery feathered foule, and euery beast of the field, assemble your selues, and come gather on euery side to my sacrifice, for I prepare a great sacrifice for you vpon the mountaines of Israel; that ye may eate flesh, and drinke blood; yee shall eate the flesh of the valiant, and drinke the blood of Princes of the earth, of the Weathers, and the Rammes of the Goates of the Bullockes, euen of the fat beasts of Basan: Thus ye shall be filled at my Table, with horses and chariots, with valiant men, and with all men of warre, saith the Lord God. Here is a fearefull Proclamation prepared for the feinds of hell, who are meant by these feathered foules, as the Prophet in one place sayes, *Malis auibus dedit ad deuorandum*, he gaue them to bee deuoured of the euill foules, of which kind of Infernall foules, Christ speaking in the Parable of the graine of corne, *Et volucres cœli comederunt illud*, and the foules of the aire did eate it vp. But who is meant by these Bellators against God, and these fat Bulles of Basan? will one say the Israelites? or the nations about them? O but the word of God is eternall, and the doctrine of the Prophets is perpetuall, and Symbolicall as that Church was Symbolicall, that to the worlds end, and in all ages the like sinnes shall procure the like vengeance: who be they who carrie hornes of ambition like vnto the Ramme? was there euer any pride comparable vnto that of Rome, where vnder colour of spirituall care, there is nothing but contriuing of monarchicall Tyrannie, by most wicked meanes, as if Christ had left that commission to Saint *Peter* which *Anchises* left vnto *Aeneas* the Grandfather of the Romanes.

Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento,
Ha tibi erunt artes.

Who be these who carrie hearts polluted with filthie and abominable lusts, like vnto the goates, mindes puffed vp with vndaunted arrogance like vnto the bulles:

who bee loaden with sordiditie, and riches like vnto fat kine; who bee like vnto Sodome, ouerflowing with idlenesse, and wealth.

CHAP. VI.

The meanes by which it pleased God to reduce this Asse of Balaam, with his Counsell against Papisticall, and superstitious Induration.

IT were now a great happinesse for your Lo: if you could weigh with sound iudgement, and out of the diuine light, which is in your soule the points of this discourse, in so many impious and superstitious transgressions, but your Lo: doth shut your eyes, and eares; I will yet tell you one iest of my experience. Being at Rome, I did often heare the chiefest Cardinals deplore, *Tanquam mortem dilectissimæ filiæ*, as the death of their most tender daughter, the falling away of this kingdome of Great Brittaine from the seate of Rome, affirming that in former ages we were the most vpright Catholike Romanes, and most zealous of Christendome, and being most curious to demaund a certaine vnderstanding man, the reason of that speech, he gaue me this answere, *Per che erano simplichotti, lontani, mai intendenano la cuilloneria di questa sedia*: Because said he, your predecessors were simple people, farre distant from this, who neuer did truely vnderstand the trumperie of this seat; because I speake in *foro conscientiæ*, your Lordship ought to beleeue me. Euen so, I say of your Lordship, you are remote from these places, and doe not see the truth of things, and when they are brought before you, you doe not looke vpon them with your right eye, but with your siniſtrous eye, not with whole eyes, but with sore eyes; For like as those whose eyes are weake or diseased, doe see better in shadie and darke places, then in presence of the sunne, so they who haue the eyes of their soule blinded

blinded with the shadowes of Pharisaicall ceremonies of superstition, they cannot willingly abide to haue their sight tried before the brightnesse of Gods word: As there were among the Babylonians to be found numbers of holy vessels that were brought foorth of the Temple of Ierusalem, when the people were captiued; so in the Church of Rome there bee indeed, many good and Christian customes and ordinances, and sundry pure and sincere grounds of Doctrine mixed with these iniquities and idolatrie, that wee may call it like vnto that monstrous Minotaure kept in the Labyrinth of *Dedalus*, *Alterà parte hominem, alterà parte bouem*, when the mother of this monster went in to see it, her naturall affection did neuer suffer her to behold the beastly part of it. It is iust so with many men, when they are brought where they may haue a perfect discouerie of this forged and monstrous worship, their naturall inclination to superstition will neuer permit them to behold the wicked and impious parts of it: and therefore, as multitudes who entred within that Labyrinth, were deuoured of that monster, because they knew not the way to returne, till *Theseus* did deuise a meanes of retreat, by tying a thread to the entrie by the one end, and carrying the other with him, he did come backe by the same. Euen so who doth eter within the mysticall Labyrinth of these cunning and craftie superstitions, deuised by many Dedalean artificers, he is neuer able to make recourse, nor to saue himselfe vndeuoured of that monster, without he be tyed to the thread of Gods word. And he who is so, shall not onely passe most securely through the most secret places thereof, but (as *Dauid* got out of the hands of *Goliah* that speare wherwith he slew him) so shall he bring as many arguments from that which he shall see among them, as shall suffice to confound themselues, wee slide into errors peece, and peece, and peece and peece we must recoile from them, we are not to looke for suddaine and miraculous conuersions, for that blow comming from

heauen which strooke S. *Paul* to the ground, suddainely draue the diuell out of him; for that diuine light which in an instant remoued the darkenesse of his soule, and made him crie, *Lord, what wilt thou, I am heere.* The dayes of miracles are past, we haue *Moses*, the Prophets and Apostles: we must follow the rule of Christ, *Scrutamini Scripturas*; search the Scriptures, because they giue testimonie of me. The way of conuersion to Gods truth is by diligent Reading of his word, by diligent hearing of the preachers of the same, by diligent prayer, who doth hold the bookes of holie Scripture insufficient hee reades in vaine, who prayeth with the Church of Rome, which thinkes she cannot erre, she hath no need of reformation, such Pharisaicall prayers are also in vaine.

And therefore I meane now to giue your Lordship a Christian aduise, first by telling your Lordship, by what naturall defects many men lie ouer in this blindnesse. Secondly by shewing vnto your Lo: that which happened vnto my selfe, and by what meanes and degrees I was freed from those errors wherein you are. And thirdly by pointing vnto your Lordship out of these, a way which I would wish you to follow in particular for your helpe: for the first, I say that the diuell seekes craftily to ouerthrow vs with our owne weapons also, hee worketh vpon the infirmities of our nature, he maketh aduantage of our naturall weakenesse; he assalteth the walles of our minds there, where the breach is likeliest, as he wil sooner tempt a man of a fierce and tygrish disposition to commit murther, then him who is naturally milde, modest, and meeke: so I hold this ignorance of men giuen ouer to Idolatrie, to proceede from one of those two faults in themselues; either it is a naturall inclination to superstition, that while they will not beleeue the holy Scriptures to be sufficient, they will giue faith enough to the most ridiculous *Aniles fabulæ*, of the legendaries, to the relation of a Straw miracle pretended to bee done heere, or there: in which kinde of foolishnesse I must say,

some

soune of our Catholicke Romanes within this kingdome bee the pooreſt men vnder the heauen. Well, *Pharaoh* did ſee in the myracles of *Moſes* the finger of God working, *Ego te conſtituam Deum Pharaonis*: but he gaue more credit to the Magicall miracles of his Sorcerers: and why? becauſe his heart was hardned. Let vs beware of this fearefull Iudgement therefore; which I haue told your *Lordſhip*, doth follow vpon Idolatrie, to be abandoned of the Lord, *vt credant mendacio qui non crediderunt veritati*: that they may beleeue lyes and follies, who would not beleeue the truth: *Indura cor populi huius, et aures eius, claude oculos, &c.* Obdurate the heart of this people, cloſe their eares, blinde their eyes, that they doe not heare, ſee, nor vnderſtand, leſt they turne to me, and I heale them, ſaith God to the Prophet. Or, next this obſtinate and wilfull ignorance, wherein men cannot be broken, no, not from one point of moſt groſſe things, it proceedes (as we haue obſerued in many, forbearing to iudge ſo of your *Lordſhip*) from a ſecret ſelfeloue, glorying to be called conſtant and inflexible. Surely conſtancie and good reſolution, it is a Cardinall vertue, and perſeuerance in faith is the height of all Chriſtian vertues: but beleeue me, this ſort of conſtancie is a deſpightfull pride, it is to haue that which all the hereſiarches haue had *hereticum ingenium*, an hereticall, inflexible, and rebellious ingenie of Nature: ſuch were *Manicheus, Marcion, Arrius, Pelagius, &c.* Such an heretike was not the good Father *Auguſtine*, who fell but *Timide* and *Languide* into the Manichean opinion, and was eaſily againe reformed by his good and toward nature, by the inſpiration of Gods Spirit, willingly to heare the Sermons, diſputes, and conferences of the holy Saint *Ambroſe*. Secondly, I will tell your *Lordſhip* ſyncerely by what ſteps it pleaſed God to grant me retreait foorth of this fearefull Labyrinth of Idolatrie: your *Lordſhip* hath heard how I already did diſtaſt theſe things, which I did ſee in *Italy*; but that did not ſerue the turne, it was in-

deede a good beginning: Vpon my backe comming to *France*, and new conference with that famous Protestant *Mounsieur Causabon* resident then at *Paris* in the seruice of the late King, with whom I was familiar before, who now finding me somewhat better disposed, hee did farre second those beginnings of mine, saying to mee, that howseeuer it was the tricke of the Consistorie of *Rome* to deny any cause of reformation on their side, and to disclaime generall Councells: yet, if it pleased God to inspire the hearts of Princes to challenge that authoritie ouer Ecclesiasticall gouernment, which was due to their Predecessors in the primitiue Church, that the body of the Catholike Church might be easily reformed, he told me that designe of *Charl.* 5. as I haue related it vnto your *Lordship*, he told me, that two Emperours, his successors, *Ferdinand* & *Maximilian* did much labour for the same. In token whereof, there be yet extant numbers of their letters sollicitatory, to that most graue and profound Doctor of the Romane Church: *George Cassander*, most zealously entreating him, touching his opinion of the deciding of Christian Controuersies, which Booke, with diuers other learned Treatises of other pacificators, he gaue me to read, as also these Theames written, *De auferibilitate Pape ab Ecclesia*, as I haue shewen your *Lordship* already. He told mee, that the seat of *Rome* was like vnto one, who hauing made vnlawfull purchase of many neighbour Lands, doe so curiously maintaine their march stones, that they will not haue them to be remooued halfe a foote, *quia vno dato incommodo multa sequuntur*, because, that one graunted, with the like equitie, much more were to bee demaunded. They doe well remember (saith he) that Embleme of *Sylurus* the *Scythian* vnto his eyghtie sonnes, for the knot of their vnitie. A sheafe of Arrowes hardly bound, out of the which if one could bee taken out, it would quickly make the rest to scatter. The reformation of any one poynt might possibly (they feare) dissolue the whole Masse of that

super-

superstitious waie. These speeches did in like sort further my better iudgement. Next againe, vpon my arriuall at the Court of England, vnto the which I brought the Commission of some aduertisements of this kinde from the same *Monsieur Causabon*, and others, to the Kings Maiestie, where, my hearing his Maiesties learned discourses sometimes at his Maiesties Table, I confesse did also much shorten my way, seeing all the world doe talke of his rare and singular wit, and of the sanctified knowledge which God hath giuen him in the holy Scriptures: I hope I may, without suspition of flatterie, say of his Maiestie, that which one of the first Order of wise men in the Land spake to my selfe while hee liued, the late Earle of *Salisbury*, that his Maiesties knowledge was supernaturall: that he was the highest Sphearе, and neerest to God, which did receiue the first influence of wisedome: that hee was like to *Salomon*, of whom it was said, *Beati serui tui qui coram te stant, & audiũt sapientiam tuam*: Happy are thy seruants who stand before thee, and heare thy wisedome. That his Maiestie did bestow vpon his seruants riches and knowledge; and that himselfe did professe to haue gotten more encrease of good knowledge, then of Estate, since his Maiesties exaltation to the Crowne. Thereafter comming to Scotland, vpon the occasion of your *Lordships* transportation from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, vnto Saint *Iohnstowne*, where you was confined, I did oftentimes heare, as your *Lordship* did, that great and diuine Preacher, now the Bishop of *Galloway*, who, for your instruction, did expressely choose his Thesis against those fallacious and false grounds of the antiquitie, vniuersalitie, and succession of the Romane Church, which bee the points that most entangle your *Lordships* witte, and which hee did so learnedly cleere, that for my part, I doe acknowledge, they helped greatly to disintangle my selfe. After this I went to dwell in *Dundie* for the space of two whole yeeres, where I did most diligently heare that excellent Preacher,

cher Master *Dauid Lyndesay* and his fellow labourers in the Church of that citie, in whose worth I thinke doth consiste no small parte of the happinesse thereof, I had my priuat conference with him to my great comfort as he can beare me record. I had my solitarie exercises in diuers subiects of Theologie, whereof I prayse the Lord I haue extant as manie testimonies as will suffice to shew my painfulnes to study the trueth of his worship, till now in the ende it hath pleased him of his mercie to giue me by faith a sure holde of the thread of his word, which is our onely guyde through this misticall pilgrimage of humane follies: of which threade our great *Zabeus* Lord Iesus Christ hath left thee on ende heere with vs vpon earth in his word and hath tyed the other vpon the gate of heauen which he did first open, called for that by the spirit of God, the first borne among the dead, So that there is no meanes to ariue safelie vnto that porte but to keepe our eyes fixt vpon the course of this thread as our vndoubted Loadstarre, Thus I doe ingenuously confesse my owne weakenesse, to the glorie of God, yea if it should be to my shame, my vncertayne wandering in the wildernesse of my owne ignorance, brought vp in my infancie in the simple profession of Gods word at home, and then contemning it, to goe a whooring after strange Gods beyonde seas, like in that wise to the swyne in the Gospell before whome the pretious pearle should not haue beene caste. And returning homeward to much a Cassandrist halting betwixt two, that at my being at courte, the kings Maiest. in perceauing me thus to wander in matters of religion, tolde me, that I should take heede least I did imitate a certayne English gentleman, who in his youth was a protestant, in his trauayling beyonde seas a papist, and in his returning a Cassandrist, and now finally a most obdured Papist, which word did wound my heart and spurre me to craue of God a happie Resolution, which of his grace he hath so farre granted me, as I haue

found

found it by experience, that these who be of the number of his Saints, and of the houshold of faith, they are chosen of him in the same manner that he called their father *Abraham*, to whom he spake saying, thou shalt get thee out of thy owne countrie, that I may blesse thee in an other, which words besides the litterall sense, hath also this interpretation by remote theologie, that he should not onely leaue his natiue countrie: which was an Idolatrous land, but that he should leaue his owne Idolatrous disposition, he should quit the wisedome of the flesh, and doctrine of humanity, and so goe out of himselfe to beleeue Gods word absolutely. which he did not vpon an instant, for the spirit of God telles vs that when the Lord did first promise to him the comming of *Isaac*, that the knowledge of the flesh tolde him that it had ceased to be with *Sara* after the manner of women: Therefore he in his distrust layde himselfe vpon his face and laughed at God saying would to God that *Ismael* may liue, but in the ende he did abiure humane wisedome and himselfe to beleeue Gods word so farre, that when he had gotten *Isaac* he went to sacrifice him willingly, notwithstanding so manie promises giuen him of his succession, whereupon it was said of him by the holie spirit, That *Abraham beleeued God and it was imputed vnto him for righteousnes.* Euen so the Lord hath made me to quite the Idolatrous land the doctrine of Idolatry peece and peece, the traditiones of humanitie, to quite my owne weake and darke vnderstanding, and abiuring all other things whatsoeuer, to betake my selfe to the incorruptible trueth of his eternall word, which doth so shine in my conscience (praysed be his holy name) that I confes it ioyfully, the more I fled it to follow superstition, and the more I did practise these *damones meridionales*, the more I lost out of sight the polestarre of the right course to the kingdome of heauen.

Now thirdly I come to giue your Lordship my counsell how to extricate your selfe foorth of this labirinth wherein you are, and it shall consist of three seuerall

poynts, the first whereof shall be common to your Lordship and all other men, that you will seeke rectified knowledge, of God, in such tearmes as the wise man commands in the beginning of his booke of wisedome, *seeke the Lord in simplicitie of heart*, for he appeareth not vnto those that be vnfaithfull saith he, to seeke the Lord in the darkenesse of an implicite faith, and to relye your Lo: faith vpon humane traditions, as farre as vpon the written word of God, it is no simplicitie of hearte, nor no faythfulnesse, it is to mixe the drosse with gold, and to corrupt the simple foode of Gods word with pharisaicall leuen, and so to be vnfaithfull beleeuing men more then God. seeke the Lord with simplicitie of heart, for he will not be found of those who tempt him with infidelitie sayth Salomon.

The second shall be the wishing your Lordship to acknowledge what peculiar and selfe imperfections possibly in your Lordships selfe may occasion this weakenesse of faith, to doubt of the sufficiencie of Gods word, which commonly in other men (as I haue alleadged) are a superstitious mynde of nature, a fault proper euen to diuers good men, therefore the more perillous, & again to be naturally of obstinate and inflexible resolution, a fault which hath ouerthrowen manie braue and worthy spirits in special, which two seuerall inconueniences vnhappilie met together in one who liueth in *fide implicita*, they make him altogether vncapable of reformation & senseleisse of any reasonable persuasions as if he were changed into an image of hardest propheir, tis no shame to confesse our faults but it is the first steppe to grace, the holie prophet *David* said *omnis homo mendax*, and in an other place, *dixi confitebor aduersum me iniustitiam meam domino & tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei*, I said I would confesse my iniquitie before God, and thou O God didest remitte my iniquitie.

Therefore the last part of my Counsell shall bee that you begin in this sort to mend those: *Dimidium facti qui bene*

bene caput habet: A thing well begun, that is to say, in the feare of God is halfe finished, if you cannot vpon the suddaine absolutely depart from the Church of Rome, yet (since not only Gods word and the light of your conscience doe conuict your Lo: but that her own doctrine for this wicked vsurpatiō ouer Princes, hath pulled down the maske that couered her whorish face: reuealing thereby to the world euen in our time, that mysterie of iniquitie) do at last compassion her, as a kindly child the miseries of his mother: and once becontent to wish her to be reformed, for that she hath need of reformation, you haue in *facto* confessed, by taking the oath of fidelitie, especially expressed to be against a doctrinall ground of Rome. Yea, which is so farre vrged for meere doctrine, that I haue heard it pronounced with my eares, by a sentence of their Consistorie, that he who taketh that oath is no Catholike Romane: and therefore to be debarred from any spirituall benefite of their Church, which is as much as to say, he is no Catholike Romane: but he, who is a Traitour to his King and Countrey, and their impious Bulles and *Emissarij*, secretly sent through the world for that effect, to poyson the waters of mens knowledge, with that *Absynthium* as I haue recyted: I speake with warrant, for I did not forbeare to practise any thing which might purchase vnto me the true vnderstanding of things; because I was not to returne there againe for better information. The chiefest *Alumni* of the Romane Church and her greatest Zealotors *Charles* the fift, and his successors in the Empire, the chiefest of her Clergie that hath beene, or are, haue consulted, negotiated, debated, disputed, written and plotted her reformation. Howsoeuer God for our sinnes hath illuded their intention, and our poore Papists of this kingdome cannot haue any other thought, but to lie euer in beastiall formes vnder the charmes of *Circe*: neuer so much as wishing to bee restored to the shapes of men: for what can I esteeme it but a brutish ignorance, so to Idolatrize

open impieties, as to hold that Chriſtian Princes ought not to reforme the Church of Rome, and purge her from her abominations, or to hold that it is not a moſt Chriſtian diſcharge of euery one of Gods Saints in particular, *Spirare vnitatem Eccleſiæ*, to importune God by our dayly prayers, for the great Iubile of this reformation, the reduction of his people from captiuitie, the reſtauration of his holy ſanctuarie, and the deſtruction of Babel, which hath ſo long detained them in ſpirituall chaines and ſeruitude: Therefore to diſpoſe your Lo: heart for thoſe wiſhes, and to prepare for you the eaſier way of recoile from your wilfull errors: I will tell you of the meanes of this reformation: that you, in your owne iudgement conforming that which ought to be, with the thing which is very poſſible to be (if the cup were full, or the period of Gods hidden prouidence were at hand) you may firſt reforme your ſelfe, and then call inceſſantly to God for this generall reformation of Chriſtian people.

CHAP. VII.

Compariſon of Rome and Ieruſalem: the order and trueſt meanes of Chriſtian reformation: expoſtulation againſt the implacable debates of the Chriſtian Clergie: an exhortation to the vpright ſtudy of Pacification.

WE can neuer more rightly ponder the condition of the Church of Rome, then to ballance her with Ieruſalem: howbeit this was typicall in regard of their externall worſhip, and that ſubſtantiall, this a limited Synagogue, and that Catholicall and vniuerſall, in reſpect before ſpecified of their profeſſion and faith common to all both circumciſed and vncircumciſed. The chiefe cauſe why the Chriſtian

Christian is called Catholike, as by that marke distinguished from the Iewish Congregation: yet, I say, the Policie doth in effect remaine alike in both, the dealing of God with both is so like, and the sinnes of men in all ages be so like: the corruption of Religion by the length of time so like: and Gods Iudgements, threatned by his Prophets, doe fall out so like vpon all, then and now, that makes the comparison pertinent, cleere, and true: for concerning the chiefe poynt, which *Rome* vsurpeth, as Soueraigne to her, to be the perpetuall Sanctuarie, it is altogether idle, to reason that *Rome*, or any Christian Church, had so ample promises as *Ierusalem* by their names or places. The Romane faith is indeede as I haue said, if wee please to call it so, being vniuersall to all, I meane that faith of Saint *Peter*, whereupon the Church of *Rome* doth build her pretended Supremacy, *Tu es Petrus & super hanc Petram fundabo Ecclesiam:* that is, vpon his preceding confession, that Iesus was the Son of God, did Christ found his Church. That faith, I say, hath the infallible promise of the perpetuitie of Gods Spirit, that is, the Candlestick which neuer shall be voyd of light, the Lampe which shall neuer want Oyle, the great Citie vpon the Mountaine which shall neuer disappeare, so liuely seene by that Prophet of the olde Law, & that other of the New, *Ezechiel* and Saint *Iohn*, being both in one extasie, whereof Saint *Iohn* said in his vision in the *Apocalyps*, *Sustulit me Angelus in montem altissimum, &c.* The Angell of God tooke me vp into a high Mountaine, and shewed mee the holy City of *Ierusalem* comming downe from heauen, couered with the beauty of God: and whereof *Esay* saith, *Tu vocaberis quæsita Ciuitas & non derelicta:* Thou shalt be called a Citie sought for, and not abandoned: And whereof the Prophet *Dauid* maketh a glorious description, *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te Ciuitas Dei, &c.* But speaking of places, what Christian Church or Towne may compare to *Ierusalem*, who was the Mother Citie, not

Apo. 21.

Esa. 62.

Psal. 36.

onely of Iewish, but of Christian Religion. The Law went out from *Sion*, saith the Apostle: *Et non peribit lex à Sacerdote*, saith the Prophet: She was like vnto *Noah*, who preached vnto two Worlds, as I haue said. And if *Rome* may bragge of Gods promise aboue *Ierusalem*, why hath *Dauid* said in his *Psalme*, to the derogation, not onely to the Mountaines of *Rome*, but of all others,

Psal. 68.

Why brugge yee thus, yee Hilles most hie,
And leape for pride together?
This Hill of Sion God doth loue,
And there will dwell for euer.

Alwaies it is enough by way of comparison: for the first they did both boast of *Templum Domini*: for the second, as it was long before prophesied, that *Ierusalem* should fall away, and become an Adultresse, as the Lord said to *Hosea*, Goe, take vnto thee a Wife of Fornication, and Children of Fornication, *Quia fornicando fornicabitur terra ne eat post Iehouam*: Because the whole Land shall be defiled, that it should not follow the Lord. So do we finde in the Euangelicall propheses of the *Apoc*: a prediction of the falling away of Rome cleere enough: thirdly, as *Ierusalem*, now fallen in her filthinesse, was sayd of the Prophets, to haue a Whores forehead, who would not be ashamed. And againe, the faithfull Citie was become a Harlot: shee who was full of Iustice, was now full of Murthers, her siluer was become drosse, her wine mixed with water, her Princes companions of Theeues: euen so, during all this fall of the Church of *Rome*, there hath neuer beene wanting singular men, whom God did stirre vp to rebuke her for her pollution. And as *Ierusalem* did persecute her Prophets: so hath *Rome* long since persecuted these, euen with cruell martyrdome; as, *Ierom Sauanarola* and *John Husse*, in speciall, with numbers moe thereafter in diuers Countries: Fourthly, *Rome* is now in that same condition which *Ierusalem* was in when the Prophet *Ezechiel* was carryed of the Angell by the hayre from *Babilon*, and placed in the

Hos. 1.

Esa. 1.

Ezek. 8.

inner

inner part of the Church of *Ierusalem*, where (saith he) I was commaunded to looke vpon the great Idoll of indignation, which was in the entrie, whose abhomination, saith the Lord, causeth me to depart from my Sanctuarie. What other thing, I pray your *Lordship*, is that Idolatrous worship of *Rome*, which I haue related, then a great Idoll of Gods indignation, as it is conioyned with that scandalous impietie of manners. Then further it was saide to *Ezechiel*, Turne thee, and thou shalt see greater abhominations, enter at the gate of the inner Court, and digge a hole through the wall where thou shalt behold similitudes of all abominable things, and all the Idols of the house of *Israel* painted vpon the walles, and thou shalt see the seuentie Ancients of the house of *Israel* standing with *Censours* in their hands, and the vapours of their incense going vp like a Clowde: and yet dost thou not see what they doe in the darke? euery one in the chalmer of his images, saying to himselfe, The Lord hath left the earth, and doth not see any more: And I did see one (saith the Prophet) who stood mourning for *Ierusalem*: Can any thing bee more like to the Colledge of their seuentie Cardinalls, who haue their Palaces throughly adorned with idolatrous images of all sorts, and the Altars within them smoking, with daily incense of ascending vapours: and who can digge a hole through the wall, that is to say, who can see through the clowde of these externall shewes of pietie, to behold the secret practises of their Consistorian Councell, or to behold the works of darknesse which be in their secret Cabinets and sensuall solitudes, hee would assuredly say, that they did also thinke the Lord had left the earth, and did no more see their actions.

But specially one shall perceiue and consider the likenesse of Ierusalem and Rome, by foure points, rehearsed by the Prophet in his sixteene Chapter. First he doth introduce God, obiecting to her, the weakenesse and miserie of her youth, saying, *O Ierusalem, when thou wast* Ezech. 16.

borne,

borne, thy nauell was not cut, thou wast not washed in water to soften thee, and when I saw thee polluted in thine owne blood, I had pitie on thee, and said, thou shouldest liue: I did sweare vnto thee, and thou becamest *mine*. A viue portract of the first age of the Church of Rome, the first 300. yeeres of her being vnder the crosse from Christ to *Constantine* the great, during all which time, the citie of Rome did lie pitifully defiled with the blood of the Apostles, Saints and Martyrs vnder the persecuting Emperours: Secondly, God doth obiect vnto her the Grandure and beautie whereunto hee had exalted her, and made her the most conspicuous city in the world, saying, *Ierusalem I entered a couenant with thee, and thou becamest mine: I washed the blood from thee, I clothed thee with broydered worke, I couered thee with silke, I gaue vnto thee bracelets, chaines, and all kind of ornaments: I put vpon thy head a beautifull crowne, I made thee eate of fine flower, hony and oyle, and thou grewest vp vnto a kingdome, and thy name was spread*: Which doth most competently figure the second age of the Church of Rome, now washed from her blood, and put in prosperitie from the dayes of *Constantine*, to Pope *Boniface* the third, who did vsurpe the vniuersall Popedome, and began to erect in it a kingdome, as no man can take exception against it. Thirdly the Lord doth obiect against her by his Prophet, her pride and declination, saying, Ierusalem, thou didst trust in thy beauty, and play the harlot: because of thy renowne, thou hast taken the faire Iewels of gold and siluer, which I gaue thee, and madest Images of them vnto thy selfe: and diddest commit whoredome with them: thou hast taken thy sons & daughters which were borne vnto me, & sacrificed them to be deuoured of those, thou hast not remembred the dayes of thy youth when thou wast naked and bare, Thou hast builded thy high places vpon mounts, and at euery corner of the way thou hast made thy beauty to be abhorred. The application whereof to the present condition of Rome is so conuenient, *Quod etiam*

etiam ipsa res loquitur, One would sweare it had beene a Type of the future estate of Rome, as the Religion was typicall, there was neuer Diademe nor Crowne like vnto this which she hath arrogated to her selfe, to bee mistresse and Queene ouer Christian Princes: doe not all the corners of that spacious citie of Rome, and all her seuen mountaines looke out like that glorious palace of *Priamus*, whereof it was said, *Regia fuitimis inuidiosa locis*, There was neuer any artifice comparable with the curiositie of her three sorts of Images in plate pictures, in imbroyderie on silke and gold, in grauing vpon all sorts of mettals, and vpon fine stones, such as *Porphyre, Agat, Diasper, Lapis Lazuli, Cornioll, Alablaster Oriental, Marble, Christall*: whereof they haue more store then all the world, did any citie euer more forget her obnoxious and distressed youth, oppressing Princes, whose predecessors the Lord made the instrument of her strength and beautie. Fourthly God by his Prophet doth pronounce the punishment of Ierusalem, saying, I will stretch out my hand to diminish thy ordinarie. I will gather all these whom thou hast loued, and those whom thou hast hated round about against thee: and will discouer thy filthinesse vnto them, that they may destroy thee, and burne vp thy houses with fire, because as I liue neither thy sister Sodome, nor her daughters haue done as thou and thy daughters haue done; which doth no lesse agree with the Church of Rome: The Lord hath stretched foorth his hand for her abominations, and hath begun to diminish her ordinarie, the puritie of his word which is the onely bread of life, he hath withdrawen from numbers of Christian people, the mutuall loue, concord, and harmony of the Catholike faith, which should be their spirituall food; Hath not Rome seene these two ages bypast, her louers and her enemies gathered against her, to destroy and burne her vp, that is to say, they who were once knit with her, in a perfect vnitie of the Catholike faith, did she not see her owne bowels rent, and

Christian states and cities persecuted with fire and sword by Christian armies: hath shee not seene the Turkes whom she doth deadly hate, come round about against her in Germanie, Hungarie, Greece, Italie, and with barbarous cruelty ouerthrow both townes and floods of Christian people, and purchase to themselues our faireſt Countreys. Is not this to diminish our ordinarie in a fearefull sort for the pride of Rome: while I call it our ordinary, I meane that through the impietie of Rome all these are taken away from the antient splendor, authoritie and strength of the Catholike Church, whereby she is become more weake.

Now since Rome and Ierusalem do iumpe in all these points, we will consider a little, whether they may also meete in that which followeth in the Text of *Ezekiel*. For fiftly God did limitate his iudgement against Ierusalem, saying, This will I still doe till thou cease to play the harlot, and then my iealousie shall depart from thee: I shall confirme to thee for euer the Couenant which I made in thy youth, that thou mayest know that I am God and bee ashamed to open thy mouth any more when I am pacified toward thee, saith the Lord; whereby we see, that whosoeuer God did chastise his Church of Ierusalem with long and hard captiuities, yet he did not altogether abandon her: she was his Church still (albeit now and then a fornicatrix) that euen our Sauiour himselfe in his time commaunded to obey them so long as they kept the Chaire of *Moses*, that is, so long as they did speake the trueth: what reason haue we then to dispaire, nor it may please the Lord to reforme the Church of Rome: (so I doe call all these Churches throughout Europe that haue receiued the marke of the beast, and are drunke with the cuppe of her fornication to the great derogation of the holy sanctuary of God.) And what know we but it may please God to restore the auncient candour and integritie thereof? the tymes of secret prouidence are vnknowne we reade in the last

chapter

chapter of *Baruche*, that it was said to the people of Israel becuse of your sinnes you shall be captiue to Babell, and ye shall remaine there manie yeares, euen seauen generations, And after that I will bring you away peaceably from thence, And in the chapter preceding it is sayde *O Ierusalem be of good comfort, and looke towards the East to see thy ioy which commeth from thy God*. The Lord he incensed some Babilonian Princes to carry them away he inspired others to dismisse them freelie: to vnderstand then whither apparrantly it will please God to worke so in the hearts of Christian Kings that Rome (who for manie ages hath bene spiritually captiued in Babell) may open her eyes to see the ioyes of God comming from the west, we must trye how this reformation of Israel was, whereupon proceeded their restitution to Gods fauour, and vpon that are we to settle our iudgement of reformation which hath beene or may be in the catholike Church.

As there was in Israel frequent Apostasies, so was there frequent reformations, first as both princes and prelats did erre so are they convicted by the prophets for transgressours, aswell as the people, as we see in the ninth chapter of *Daniel*. *O Lord (sayth he) open shame belongeth vnto vs, our kings our princes our people our selues, vnto vs all, because we haue sinned*. Secondlie the Reformations which haue beene in Iuda were performed by the ordinarie magistrates, Princes, gouernours and Prelats did erre, and princes prelats and gouernours did reforme; The text of *Daniell* sayth, After the going out of the commandedement for taking backe the people and reedification of Ierusalem, there were so manie weekes as he doth reckon there, whereby we note that it was not done by any extraordinary meanes, but flowed from a commaundement giuen out. Thirdly we obserue that these reformations were by reducing the church of Ierusalem to the primitiue institutions of Moses, and Gods word: banishing things which had contrarie course, so that for *Daniel*

when he prayeth for reformation and restitution of Ierusalem, because (said he) we haue transgressed thy lawe, we haue sinned against thy seruant *Moses*: therefore all these plagues are come vpon vs: hee doth not appeale vnto the church, vnder *Salomon*, vnder *Danid*, vnder *Samuel*, vnder *Ioseph*, or vnder *Iosua*, albeit all these were vpright Rulers of the Church: no, but vnder the primitiue Architype and institution of *Moses*.

But while we come to this point of reformation, here it is where the comparison betwixt the Iewish Church, and the Church of *Rome* doth faile; here it is, *Vbi insaniunt omnes*? where, for the greatest part, we are all gone astray. The Prophet *Ezechiel* did see one standing mourning for *Ierusalem*: but (alas) how few doe this day mourne for the Sanctuary? that is to say, for the desperate discords of Christian Churches, who doth out of Christian compassion vtter vnto the Church of *Rome* these kindly speeches of the Prophet to the Israelites during their captiuitie: My children, as it came into your minde to goe astray from your God, so endeauour your selfe ten times more to seeke him (saith the Prophet.) We haue all here forgotten our exemplar, for the Church of *Rome* on the one side (contrary to *Daniel* and the Iewish reformation) she cryeth, that neither she nor her Prelates, nor her Priests haue transgressed, and that they cannot erre; and therefore they haue no need of reformation. Vpon the other side againe, we, who doe see her abominations, wherewith shee hath defiled the Sanctuary, and corrupted Christian Religion, in place to say with *Daniel*, Lord, turne thy wrath from *Ierusalem*, thy holy Mountaine, haue pittie on thy holy Citie where thy name was once truely called on. *Ierusalem* is a reproach to all that are about her, wee doe cry, because the Church, who was sometimes chaste vnto thee, O Lord, is now become Fornicatrix: therefore destroy her, because shee hath polluted the Catholike faith: therefore diuorce vs from her, O Lord, thus lying

Expostulat: for Christian discords.

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ing ouer into implacable paroxisme, and strife, while one sayes, he ought not to be reformed, because hee cannot erre, and his aduersaries exclaime, that he is so contagious, as he is not capable of reformation, one cryeth for a sole and soueraigne Bishoppe to commaund both Church and State, both Prelates and Princes: an other cryeth, that he will haue no Bishop at all, &c. There is a sort of enchaunted Papists, whom the waters of the Iesuiticall *absynthum* haue so venummed, that they will not remit one dramme weight of the superstitious worshippe of their great Idoll, if it were for the peace of the whole Sanctuarie, There be againe a Sect of extrauagant and heteroclite Puritans of the late stampe, I speake not of any iudicious good man who doth discharge his function in Gods feare, and the obedience of his Prince, to Christian edicates: but of these Anabaptisticall Clerks, *Qui ont la bouche sans bride*, as the French saith, who carry no bridle in their mouthes, being in opinion of Gouernments whatsoeuer, meerely Republicanes against the Architype and order of God, not onely despising Princely authoritie, with the Iesuite, but vilipending all Prelates in the Church, in fauours of a fantasticall Anarchie, or a seditious popular tribunat, forged in their owne braynes, obstinately refusing to accept for doctrine, for manners, for policie, whatsoeuer almost haue beene in the Church of *Rome*, if it were neuer so good: these be most wretched and pernicious humours of men, carrying factious and vehement spirits, blowne vp with the vapours of *Pandoras* boxe, and abhorring the peace of Israel: with both which I must expostulate in this place, and say vnto them as the Prophet commanded to cry in the eares of the rebellious Iewes of his time, *Confregistis iugum, rupistis vincula*: you haue dissolued the bands of Catholike loue and vnitie, you haue broken the yoke of Christian societie, you are obstinate against desires of reformation: you doe Iudaise, but *Moses* did Christianize, who for the sake of that Idolatrous

people would haue beene raſed out of the Booke of life. Saint *Paul* did the ſame, who would haue beene *anathema* for the loue of his Chriſtian folke: but all your meditations, your writtes, your ſermons, be like vnto theſe inuolued Rolles brought by the Angell vnto *Ezechiel*, wherein was written nothing within nor without, but lamentations, mournings, and woe: you haue no ſparke of Chriſtian charite left, without which it is impoſſible to pleaſe God: know you not, that in the Scripture this charitie is properly ſaid to be a fire: we read in *Leuiticus*, *Vt ignis in altari ſemper ardeat*, That the fire ſhould neuer goe out vpon the Altar, which is a true myſterie and type of that Chriſtian loue which ſhould be vnder the *Euangell*: for now there is no Altar left vs, but the Altars of pure hearts before the Lord: nor no Sacrifice, but of contrition, faithfull prayers, and loue: The lawe *Euangelicall* (as I ſaid before) is the perfection of the naturall and Moſaicall; and loue againe (as the Spirit of God
1. Timoth. 1. doth teſtifie) is the end of this law, *finis legis eſt charitas*: in which words the Apoſtle doth attribute, as much to loue, in Theologie, as in Philoſophie is giuen to Iuſtice, ſpeaking of Cardinall vertues, *Iuſtitia in ſe virtutes continet omnes*, That Iuſtice hath in it all vertues: euen ſo, ſaith the Apoſtle, if wee haue as much faith to cauſe Mountaines remooue, and want loue, it is all nothing. This loue is euer commanded, *de proximo*, of our neighbour. Thou blinde Papiſt, canſt thou haue a neerer brother then the Proteſtant? And you preciſe Puritans, can you but eſteeme them your pitifull brethren, who liue
1. Corinth 8. in Papall ignorance: *Dilige pro quo mortuus eſt Chriſtus*, ſaith *Paul*, Will you follow the example of Chriſt? did he not both pardon, and pray to God for thoſe who ſlew him, whoſe ignorance was aboue all ignorance, their vnbeleefe aboue all vnbeleefe, and fault aboue all faults; without vnitie and loue there can be no perfect Church; becauſe that is the whole ſcope of the *Euangel*, as I haue ſaide, and of all true Religion: vnanimitie is the bond

which

which maketh the Church strong, *Ecce circundedi te vinculis*, saith God, in *Ezec.* Behold, I haue hedged you about with bands. This loue is the knot which bindeth together the members of Christ in one body: & therfore is so diligently recommended by him to his Apostles that they should remaine fast and conioyned among themselues, & by so many types in the old Testament is figured vnto vs this Christian concord and vnitie, by the vestiments of the high Priest, whereof euery portion was ioyned to another the whole being one peece. By the Tabernacle, whereof euery thing was ioyned into another the whole standing in coniunction, for are we not so called in the Apocalips: *Ecce Tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, & habitabit cum eis*, The Tabernacle of God which dwelleth among men. By the vessels, whereof so many as were not closed together, but were opened and in diuers pieces, they were said by the spirit of God to be vncleane, as we see in the Booke of *Numbers*: we are the vessels who bee made by the hand of our heauenly potter, of whom S. *Paul* saith, *Alia quidem in honorem, alia vero vasa in contumeliam*, some be vessels of honour, and some of reproach; you haue your mouth open to spewe out contumelies and malignitie one against another; and therefore take heed you shew not your selues vessels of dishonour: you haue not this Christian fire of charitie whereof the spirit of God saith, *Quod operit multitudinem peccatorum*. That it coueteth multitude of sinnes. The Altars of your hearts are kindled with the prophane fires of *Nadab* and *Abihu*: the fires of pride, arrogancie, and contradiction; fires of mutuall rayling and *Philippicke* Inuectiues, where Pastors, in place to perswade Christian loue, vnity and mutuall compassion, after the example of our Sauiour, they feede vs with contentious Sillogismes, *Pascuntur Sillogismo sicut Boues fœno*, as Oxen are fed vpon haye. O you who call your selfe a Christian Pastor; how doe you forget that precept of Saint *Paul*? *Vt obsecrationes fiant, postulationes, & gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus.*

Apoc. 21.

Numb. 19.

Leuit. 10.

1. Tim. 2.

That

That prayers, supplications and thankes giuing may bee made for all men in generall: how doe you not remember that he hath commanded your corrections and admonitions to be brotherly, *Non iactantia studio nec contumeliosa obiurgatio, sed in spiritu lenitatis*, Not in ostentation or cõtumelious reproach, but in the spirit of lenity: there is no other reason for this, but because *Confregistis Iugum, rupistis vincula*, you haue broken the bonds of Christian fraternitie and loue. This fire of charitie in the soule of a good man, is like to the abundance of heat in the stomacke of a strong body, which draweth good nourishment, out of grosse and euill matters; the want whereof againe doth turne the most delicate substance into phlegme, and noysome humours, if you had abundance of this loue you would doe through the heat thereof, as the Apostle commaunds you, *Alter alterius onera portare*, you would digest the ignorance and weakenesse of your brethren: by seeking their reformation by all brotherly meanes: and the want of this againe, vndoubtedly maketh you to distaste and loath euen the good things which be among them. The want of it makes you to detest the name of a pacificatour, to fly the voyce of peace, to cry *Crucifige*, to carrie one against an other murthering tongues, poysoned pennes, and vehement spirits of destruction, spirits contrary to God, *Inspiritu vehementi conteres naues Tharsu* saith *Dauid*, in a vehement spirit shalt thou breake the ships of Tharsus. Wee read in the second of the *Kings*, while *Eliah* was commanded to attend the comming of God vpon the Mountaine, the holy Spirit saith, Behold, there was a winde which did rent the rockes, but the Lord was not therein, there was a great commotion and earthquake, but neither was he there, and thereafter a huge fire, but he was not yet in it: In the end there came *Sibilus auræ tenuis*, the whispering of a sweet and temperate ayre, and therein was the Lord: Euen so the Christian Clergie who goe into the mountaine of God to vnderstand the secrets of his will, so long

Psalm. 48.

as

as they thunder out such tempestuous windes of mutuall despight, God will neuer be there to pitty our Christian distractions: So long as they raise such vehement commotions and fearefull earth-quakes to rent the states and liues of Christian Princes, God will not be there neither to restore *Ierusalem*, and to purge his holy Sanctuarie of the Catholike Church, so long as you burne your selues with fire of mutuall acerbity and wrath, you shall not yet see the Lord there to pitty our Christian discordes, that our Christian Religion bee no longer a reproach to the dangerous multitudes of infidell nations, who watch their opportunitie to assault vs, because as the holy spirit doth testifie in that same place, *Non in commotione Dominus*, the Lord in his mercy cannot be in a commotion, but if you should whisper out this *Sibilus aurae tenuis, ibi Dominus*: this gentle and soft ayre of meeknesse and brotherly admonition, there possibly you might finde the Lord.

Now to the effect that this briefe exhortation, to dispose our selues to Christian peace should not bee mistaken, and neglected as an indigested phantasie of my braine, I send you all to read that treatise called *Irenicon siue de pace Ecclesiæ*, of the peace of the Church done by that famous *Iunius*, one of the chiefest lights of the Church while he liued, In which treatise he doth call all these of your humour wicked, and seditious Tribunes, and of which he did vpon his death-bed protest (as I was informed of those who were present) to haue more comfort, hauing written it immediately before, *Tanquam cantum Cygneum*, as the spirituall song of his farewell: then of all the religious exercises of his life time, which were many and most laborious: So that to imitate for Reformation the practise of our architype Ierusalem, this is the first point which we must obserue with *Daniel*, to make generall confession of our transgressions, as well Pope and Iesuite, as Puritan: and againe to make orations and supplications for all, which

as it is a thing wee ought to doe, so it is strange how wee should refuse to doe it: while *Daniel* hath said, Lord to vs belongeth open shame, our Kings, our people, our selues. Tis strange of thePapist, that you should affirme, thy Pope and thy Priests are holy and cannot erre, that they haue no need of generall Councells, nor of generall Reformation, as if God had taken corruption & mutabilitie from the earth, and granted vs heere a generall beatitude for the sake of Rome. In Gods name let it please you to esteeme your Pope no more holy then *Daniel* was: and if you wish him to be cleansed from his Idolatry and vniust vsurpations, to be restored againe to the vnity of the Catholike faith, and that dignity which he did once lawfully brooke to be a chiefe Bishop of the occidentall Church: Then must you cry with *Daniel*, O God, to our Pope, our Cardinalls, and Priests, and to vs belongeth open shame, because we haue transgressed against thy seruant *Moses*, euen our great *Moses*, *Iesus Christ*, who redeemed vs from the bondage of that fearfull *Pharaoh*, Satan. Wee haue turned his faith, and all Religion to superstitious worship: wee haue turned his spirituall gouernment into a Tyranous Monarchy, and we haue turned the piety of Christian manners into iniquity and abhominion: This must be the voyce of thy confession: And thou protestant if thou wilt wish the increase and restitution of Christs Church, thou must pray for Rome, as *Daniel* did for Ierusalem. Lord be mercifull vnto the holy City, where thy name was once so truely worshipped, thou must teach and admonish them, preach, and write to them, as the Prophets did to the Israelites in captiuity; Brethren as it came in your minde to depart from the Lord your God, so wee beseech you to indeuour your selues tenne times more to turne to him againe. If you will deny that Rome is your mother Church, that is nothing, either it is Ierusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, or some other, you cannot deny that shee is your sister Church, who once had

had a concord, and vnity of faith with you, and that by her defection the Catholike Church is greatly weakned: You cannot deny that whiles shee is *fornicatrix*, the Lord doth beget in her sonnes and daughters, who daily turne vnto him as he did in Ierusalem, when hee said to his Prophet *Hosea*, Goe yet and loue a woman that was an harlot according to the loue of God toward Ierusalem, for she looked after strange Gods, and I bought her with siluer, &c. You cannot deny but those who did possesse the chiefest functions in our Church the times of reformation, that they had their calling deriued from the Church of Rome, and those who receiued calling from them; By the Church of Rome, I meane as before, those Churches that receiued not the true faith so much at first, as at last corruption and Idolatry from her, who consenting therein with her may bee called after her name: You cannot deny that our Ancestours who now liue, in whose faith we were baptised, that they had their Baptisme from the Church of Rome, and that Sacrament truely administred there, not in the name of the Church of Rome, but in the name of the Father Sonne and holy Ghost, therefore our fathers were neuer pressed by any reformed Church to be rebaptised, That confession of S. *Peter* that Iesus was the sonne of God, no man can deny that it is the faith of Rome, corrupted indeed with Idolatrous worship, & she hath fallen from her spouse Christ to play the harlot. Shall ye not therefore as a member of one body with her, as a kinde brother or sister pitty her disease? will ye answere me to this, that she is obstinate, reprobate, hath stopped her eares with the Serpent so that she cannot heare, but how doe you know when God hath appointed her to heare? consider the calling of *Ezekiel*, and in what termes that spirit which entered into him did send him to the house of *Israel*, and in his 2. and 3. Chap: you shall finde aboue fiue seuerall commissions giuen him in these words, Son of man thou shalt go to them but surely they shall neuer

heare thee, but lay thee in bonds. And how many Prophets were sent vnto them whom they did neuer heare? yet after seuen generations captiuitie, it was said to *Ierusalem*, Lyft vp thine eyes and *Behold thy ioyes comming from the east*, thy people who were caried in captiuitie for their Idolatrie, turning backe reioycing in the word of the holy one to the honour of their God saith the Text. *Ierusalem* was but our Type and shaddow, she fell from God so absolutely, that *Hosea* saith *Ierusalem* for many yeares, shall neither haue Prince, priest, sacrifice nor Propher, because in her captiuitie she durst not practise her owne Idolatries, So that neuer Church was in more fearefull and desperate condition, yet the Lord did restore her; whereupon we haue reason to hope that hee will in his mercie more fauour the body, vnlesse our ingratitude and transgressions doe close the doore of his mercie.

Baruc 5.

The reformation of Ierusalem done by ordinary Magistrates.

The second point which we note in the Reformation of *Ierusalem* is, that they were performed by ordinary meanes of lawfull Princes and Prelates; The Prophets indeed whom God appointed to be watchmen ouer the house of *Israel*, they were extraordinarily called, but the worke was wrought by ordinary Gouernours, for in that place of *Daniel* we read, that after his prayers for all, the Angell *Gabriel* appeared vnto him, reuealing vnto him the designed time of their restitution, by certain circumstances, saying, betwixt the going out of the commandement for taking back of the people, and reedifying of Ierusalem, and betwixt the comming of Messias the Prince, there shall be seuen weekes, and threescore and tenne weekes, &c. where he shewes how that restitution and reformation of Ierusalem, proceeded from one ordinance giuen to Princes and Prelates, who did enterprize it, as wee see testified by the Spirit of God in that restitution made by *Cyrus* King of Persia, who did proclaime it in these words, The Lord God of heauen hath giuen me all the kingdomes of the earth, and hath commanded

manded mee to build him a house in Ierusalem, who is among you, with whom his God is, let him goe vp to Ierusalem and build the house of the Lord. Where he himselfe professed to haue a warrant from God as supreme King, who had power to performe it. And againe that hee did not depute to that discharge euery man, or any man indifferently, no, but hee with whom God is, and who were such it is subioyned in the Text: Then the chiefe Fathers, and the Priests and Leuites rose vp to goe to the worke. And *Cyrus* King of Persia brought foorth by the hand of *Mithridate* his Thesaurour, the vessels of the house of the Lord, and counted them on to *Zorobabel* Prince of Iudea, and made the people to be furthered and strengthened by siluer, gold, cattell and substance of his owne subiects. Tis cleere that the commission was giuen to the Princes and to the Prelates; it was not done by priuate pretenders, nor by sedition, nor insurrection; the people did endure the yoake of bondage till it pleased the Lord to reforme Ierusalem by ordinary Magistrates and meanes, a point that howsoeuer is is expressely to be imitated and followed in Christian reformations, yet such hath beene the times fore-past, that diuerse haue beene forced to doe contrary to the same, partly for want of patience to attend Gods secret appointments, or through the feruours of zeale, and partly through the intollerable pride of Rome who would neuer hearken to any voice of Reformation, touching the which, and the pretenders of extraordinary vocation I will not meddle to speake, because I am no extraordinarie Diuine, onely this by the way. Two things doe appeare to me, one, that such pretexts haue euer beene the fountaine of all disorder and nouelties in the Church. For whence haue Arrianisme, Pelagianisme, and those other flowed of old; and whence of late Anabaptisme, Brownisme, and besides those so many concussions and afflictions as we haue seene mooued within this kingdome, by those who vrged the Geneua discipline

Of extraordinary Pretenders in the Church.

pline to bee accepted for a third essentiall note of the Church. From whence came all these? but from singularity of opinion, and from holy pretenders, whereof the meanest would take vpon him to affirme that

A Christian true albeit a country clowne,
May teach a King to weare a Scepter and a Crowne:

So that so long as extraordinary calling shall bee pretended or permitted, that spring of curious and Libertine impieties shall neuer be stopped, as may be seene in *Holland*, which is become a *Prostibulum* of damnable sectaries pretending the holy spirit for their dreames. Againe for another, it appeares looking vpon the Scriptures of God, that there is no backe doore left for such dangerous Reformatours; God doth indeed frequently illuminate the hearts of men with vprightnesse and true knowledge amidst vniuersall ignorance, that such may perswade, write and insinuate, why not? but to intrude themselues into the Church, or to attempt Reformation, I know not how, euen the Prophets of the old Law who had the extraordinary spirit, they would not goe to declaime publikely against manifest Idolaters, but when the Angell of God did specially send them. There bee times when God will not vouchsafe his light to men as
Matth. 7. S. *Matthew* saith, *Ne Sancta dentur canibus, & Margarita porcis proiciantur*: that holy things should not bee giuen to Dogges, nor pearles cast before swine. And speaking of the Apostolicall times, I thinke they are deceiued who say, that *Titus* or *Timothie* had an extraordinary vocation; for they were chosen by the Apostle, and were the Schollers of S. *Paul*, *Quæ accepi à Domino* (saith hee) *ea tradidi vobis*, The things which were taught to mee by our Master Christ, these haue I teached you. Yea, doe we not see how in the very time of the Apostles themselues when the extraordinary spirit was giuen to many, there was iealous warnings among them against extraordinarie Pretenders: *Audiuimus quosdam ex nobis &c.* we heare (saith the Apostle) that some haue gone out from among

among vs, who haue troubled you bidding you to bee circumcised *quibus mandauimus nulla dederamus*: to whom no cõmandement was giuen: An euident Argument that no man might enter into the Church without Apostolicall ordination, notwithstanding the holy Ghost was frequently giuen, and extraordinarily to manie by God himselfe immediately. Briefely this extraordinary Vocation hath neuer in no time beene seene, but accompanied with such miraculous graces as did sufficiently warrant it from doubt or calumnie: which makes mee thinke, that hee who is in this Libertine and corrupted age will pretend extraordinarie calling, he had neede to qualifie the same by extraordinary markes: The Lord God indeede who Master of all creation, of all redemption, and of all Reformation, and for common doth worke by naturall and ordinary meanes in all these three, when he will to shew his power and glory, he will worke aboue and contrary to Nature, and to her order, as hee made the Red Sea to diuide for *Moses*, and the Sunne to be fixed for his successour *Iosua*, as he suffered by way of reformation the Asmonei to be for the time both Kings and Priests in one person, as nature it selfe following the same doing of God her Soueraigne Lord, albeit for the ordinary she worketh to procreation and generation of things, yet sometimes she workes deuouring inundations and pestilent plague, which although they seeme to destroy, yet they are necessary purgers of nature for the time, euen so there hath beene in the beginnings of Christian reformation extraordinary things done, by good men in case of so great exigence and necessitie as was; but these extrauagant interims are neuer to bee drawen in rule: The tyranny of Rome hath enforced that kinde of doing, the cruell martyrdome first of *Sauonarola* and then of *Hus*, for their cries of Reformation: their deceiuing of *Carolus* 5. and two succeeding Emperors in their deligns of reformation; their barbarous persecution of the Protestants of France and Germany, by bringing

Reformation of Christian Churches.

bringing vpon their neckes the Arms of the holy league for their protestation to haue the Catholike Church reformed: These mad Christian people despairing of generall reformation by ordinary means and authoritie of Princes and Prelates, to attempt it with some disorder and violence, wherein some haue beene better, some worse according to the diuers mindes and meanes of Reformatours in diuers places: all tollerable for the time, none perfect, but that which hath beene done after these Iewish reformations, whereof we speake: and to speake ingenuously of all these which haue been, it seemeth that no worse carriage hath beene in any, then in those of Scotland and France, albeit mooued by godly and reuerend men: yet because they were attempted against the auctoritie Royall for the time, which was the reason why they fell forth as a furious Northerne tempest threatning a common otherthrow, in place to reforme Policie and Prelates, they did destroy both; enrage the people, eiect the Prince, shake the whole state, and make their natiue Countries a bloudy stage of domestick and forraine ambition, that it may be iustly said thereof as *Cicero* did reproach to the vnhappy *Brutus*, *Bona imo optima causa, sed mihi crede fœdissimè perdita:* a good cause yea a most good cause, but beleeue it most miscreantly gouerned.

A much better act was that of *George* Prince of Henault, who being but a ciuill man did reforme the Pontificate of Meresburgh. For albeit he was not ordained by Pontificiall authoritie, yet as he affirmes in his Apologie for that act, he did procure vnto himselfe an ordinary vocation and canonicall Election by the whole Chapter of that Cathedrall Church, who had their calling in the Church of Rome, and did ordaine him a pastour with power by their aduise to reforme that seat: for there be diuers of the Catholike Romane Cleargie, who doe not hold euerie ordination vnlawfull which is not approoued of the Pope, witnesse the late controuersie betwixt him and the Venetians for the Abbey of Policena,

na, where he did ordinate his Nephew Cardinall *Burghesio*, & they one of their own Citizens who did inioy it. Better yet were these Reformations of Germany performed by *Wicliffe*, *Luther*, *Bucer*, *Farellus*, *Viretus* and others, wherof some being questioned before the Emperor, were neuer demaunded vpon their calling, because they had gotten order within the Church of Rome, yet perfectly good were none of these Germane reformations neither, because the greatest part of them were onely Presbyters, and had no Episcopall authoritie to reforme: But of all these Reformations which haue beene lately in the Catholike Church: that of England, hath beene most vpright, perfect, and agreeable to the Architype of Ierusalem, as you shall hereafter more cleerely perceiue, where Prelates and Princes doe erre, and Princes and Prelates againe (to whom onely the authoritie did belong) did reforme both themselues and the people, retaining alwayes in their Church the Primitiue Ecclesiasticke gouernement, with so many of their religious Rites and Ceremonies, as were agreeable with Catholike Antiquitie, and not contrary to Gods word, resolued to part no further from Rome, then she hath parted from the veritie, which was the reason why this Reformation came not as a storme into the ayre, nor in a Commotion, but like vnto that *Subitus aura tenuis*, wherein the Lord was, so that amidst the fearefull thunders and coruscations of Europe, it did confirme the tranquility of that kingdome in a miraculous sort, and did truely procure vnto the late Queene of blessed memorie that braue word, *Circundita Morte quiesco*. So that it might haue beene said of her feminine Raigne, as it was said of the gowne of that great Orator,

——*Cuius sub iure togaq;*
Pacificas fauus tremuit Catilina secures:

How many forraine machinations did she illude? How many intestine Catelines did she surpresse? how did shee cut the crust of the Spanish ambition, with such dexteri-

ty, as a second *Iudith* cutting off the head of *Olopherues*, *Cranmer* Bishop of Canterbury Primat of the English Church; *Latymer* Bishop of Wighorne; *Hooper* Bishop of Gloceſtre; *Rialy* Bi: of London: theſe were lawfully ordinate Bishops in the Church of Rome: King *Henrie* the eight and his Succeſſors, *Edward* the ſixt, and Queene *Elizabeth* were lawfull Princes, to both which, according to the exemplar of Ieruſalem, and vnto that which was due to their Predeceſſors in the Primatiue Church did belong the power to reforme themſelues and their kingdomes and Iuriſdictions, to the which reformed Church of England, the graue and learned *Beza* giues this vertuous teſtimony: If (ſaith hee) the reformed Church of England doe perſiſt as they are ruled by authority of Biſhops, whereof ſome of our age haue bin famous Martyrs and moſt worthy Paſtors and Doctors, let England enioy that ſingular bleſſing of God, which I pray the Lord to continue with them, ſaid he; Alwayes for this point we may conclude thus, that in caſe Prelates ſhould become Papall and Idolatrous, that Presbyters might reforme with their tongues, but not with hands, preach reformation, but not pull downe Churches, perſwade and illuminate mens conſciences, but not concitate popular tumults.

Beza de miniſt. Euang. 18. & 21.

The third thing which we mark in theſe reformations of Ieruſalem is, that things were reduced not to the times immediately preceding, nor other then vnto Primitiue Inſtitutions: for ſaith *Daniel*, Wee haue ſinned O Lord (not againſt *David* nor *Samuel*) but againſt the lawe of thy ſeruant *Moſes*; who was their lawgiuer. And here is the maine point wherein doth ſtand the perfection of all Chriſtian reformation, that the doctrine & gouernment of the Catholike Church ſhould be conformed with euery thing, which was in the Primatiue Church, whereabout there be ſome little diuerſities in opinions, but no man yet hath bounded it more narrowly, then the firſt 300. yeeres, except this hererochite

Clergie

Clergie of the late Presbyterians, who will precisely limitate it vnto the dayes of Christ and his Apostles: taking aduantage that way as they thinke, to discredite Episcopall Regiment, because forsooth there was no mention then of Diocesan, Metropolitan and Patriarchall Bishops. And so fantasing to reduce the Church policie to the termes, wherein it was immediatly after Christs ascension, at which time there was no need, but of Presbyters, before Cities, Sheriffedomes, Prouinces, Nations were conuerted: who doth not know that the policie of the Church behooued to encrease with the encrease of faith? it behooued to haue a Bishop before a Diocesan Bishop, and him againe before a Metropolitan Bishop, & the Metropolitan before the Patriarchall authoritie. But these bee headdy inuentions of poore and clandestine Synagogues who cannot pretend for themselues any learned Patron, except it be falsely; Not *Luther*, not *Melancton*, not *Bucer*, not *Zuinglius*, not *Zanchius*, nor *Caluine*: These were no dreamers, they were graue and sage Diuines, farre of (as you shall heare by their owne testimonies) from bringing into the Church of God such Anarchies and popular Tribunates, yea, they cannot betake themselues to any of our own Protoreformatours, not to *Iohn Knox*, who howsoeuer in the point of the Ciuill Magistrate (to speake ingenuously) he was somewhat extrauagant, yet he was a great and good instrument of God, and in this point of Bishops, wise and conforme, the time being considered as you shall heare hereafter,

V 2 CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

A limitation of the Primitiue Church: whereunto we are to appeale for Reformation, which the iudgement of the best Reformators, touching the meanes thereof.

BVt to proceede touching the Primitiue Church, I say that whatsoeuer is in the Church, it is either Doctrine, Policie, or Ceremonies: what concernes doctrine doth limitate the Primatiue Church to the dayes of Christ, the Apostles and Euangelists, that nothing is to be admitted for doctrine but that, which the Spirit of God did penne by their hands; what concernes euery particular Act in policie or custome in Ceremonies, it is not to be reckoned so. To make this cleere, we are to vnderstand a distinction in diuine institution, some being more directly diuine then others, as the doctrinal points of Saluation treated by the Apostles, are more diuine, then that which the same Apostles did, concerning the policie. The first is the bread of life it selfe, the second is but the order how it shall be kept & dispensed, so that these things which our Sauiour spake out of his owne mouth are immediately diuine. The Acts againe of the Apostles in establishing the Church after the ascension, no man will refuse them to be diuine institutions, so farre, that the Apostles might say they did proceed from the holy Ghost, and from themselues, yet no man either must hold them equally diuine with the personall doctrine of Christ, in regard whereof, they hold a second degree, & are called Apostolike Traditions: Therfore such as be strict about this distinctiō, say, that which did immediatly flow from Christ himselfe, is a diuine ordinance, and the other onely *diuini Iuris*, that is to say, hath a diuine right. Now say they, in regard of the

Distinct: of diuine Institut:

the first institution, the difference is but small betwixt a diuine ordinance, and an Apostolicall ordinance, but in respect of continuation or perpetuitie, there is a great discrepance, that which is immediately diuine, being absolutely and vnchangeably necessarie to bee kept in the Church, from Christs mouth to the consummation of the world. The other againe not so, but as it did not flow directly from Christs owne mouth, nor from the Apostles, immediately after the ascension, but being traditions policicall for the Church, they were peece and peece deliuered and practised according to the increase of the faith, euen so they do not imply a necessary perpetuitie in the Church in that sort as some do fondly reason, saying, if such Policie, or such Ceremonies be Apostolicall, then they must be perpetuall in the Church, whereupon (by way of aduantage) they inferre the nullitie of many reformed Churches in France, Scotland, Geneua, and others, which is an absurd inconuenient. O, but it is not so: The word of God, and the Apostolicall traditions be of like veritie, but not of like authorine, nor like perpetuitie, not alike necessitie; for that is to bee retained in the Church, which is expedient and conuenient, as wel as that which is absolutely necessary, but the difference is, that of Christs word one Iot shall not perish, it is vnchangeable, incorruptible & eternall. Whereas these other Apostolicall institutions, which were the fountaines and beginnings, from whence did flow the growth of the Churches policie, with the growing of the faith vnder the successors of the holy Fathers of the primitiue Church, these I say, albeit they be from the spirit of veritie, yet hauing but a second place, and being but *diuini Iuris*, they are not so absolute incorruptible and vnchangeable as the first: they are like vnto vpright gold into which an excellent Iewell is mounted, there to be kept, which gold, if it were most fine, it is with time worne, diminished, altered, and perhaps broken, but still againe renewed: euen so as the Riuers,

which after long running doe willingly fall againe into the bosome of their great fountaine, the Ocean, from whence they come and which is their naturall seat; so all disordered and strange courses of pretended policies and nouelties of the Church gouernment, do by length of time returne againe into the fountaine of the Apostolicall institutions (as experience doth shew) which are not to bee limited to the daies of Christ, or to the beginnings of the Apostles, as the word is, but vnto the primitiue Church vnder the Apostles, and their Successors, during the first three or foure hundred yeeres of her puritie, so that from the estate of the Church in that time, are all our Reformations to be sought apparantly; and what we haue transgressed against that, is to bee referred againe, and ruled by that, and by no later times.

Albeit generall Councells and great numbers of learned men were more frequent thereafter, for all the world doth know, that as learning grew, so grew corruption, and so grew curiositie to couer the same, so grew contention, ambition, and heresie. To proue by many arguments the sinceritie of the Primitiue Church, or the reasons why wee should appeale to her for reformation, it is not necessarie: The holy and great Doctor *S. Augustine* giueth such a testimonie, as leaueth no suspicion; that, saith he, which the holy primitiue Church obserued, although it was not concluded by Counsells, but alwaies retayned, *non nisi authoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur*, it is most rightly beleeued to haue been no other then an Apostolicall institution. Againe, saith he, to dispute whether that which the holy primitiue Church through the world did obserue, should bee now receiued, or not receiued, *insolentissima est insania*, it is a most mad insolence. In which wee marke these two: First, that hee doth not limitate the primitiue Church to the daies of Christ and his Apostles, but hee speaketh of a primitiue Church flourishing throw the world: Secondly, that he doth not tye the credit of the

August. de bap: contra Donat: lib. 4. cap. 24.

primitiue

primitiue Church, to the authoritie neither of Councels, although hee saith, it was not concluded in Councells. Yea farther, all the Councells themselues which followed the primitiue Church, did cloath them with the authoritie thereof, their Meetings, Registers, Decrees, Canonicall letters, and whatsoeuer was, were founded vpon this, *secundum veterem consuetudinem Patrum nostrorum*, according to the ancient custome of our Fathers. For example, long before the Councell of Nice, the patriarchall Bishops were in authoritie, albeit there was no such thing in the daies of the Apostles, because there was then no combination of Prouinces conuerted to the faith; and in that Councell it was called an ancient custome. And in the Councell of Ephesus there was a question decided betwixt a patriarchall Bishop, and the Bishop of Cyprus, where any man may see if it was not said, *Secundum vetus decretum Patrum nostrorum*.

Concil. Nic. cap. 6.

Concil. Ephes. post aduers. Episcopi Cypri.

And certainely it is an infallible argument of the integritie and vpright meaning which hath been in the proto-reformators of Germanie, to heare their willingnesse to follow antiquitie, where it was not contrarie to Gods word. These are the speeches of *Luther*, and *Bucer*, touching the retentions of indifferent ceremonies of the Church of Rome, *Sciam publicæ pacis causa non detrallurus &c.* we will not (say they) be against the brooking of ceremonies and traditions receiued in the Popes Church from antiquitie vpon these conditions, that the consciences of men be not thereby bound, as by fundamentall grounds of faith: but that the doctrine Euangelicall, of free iustification by faith in Christ, remaine inuiolate: and that, say they, not only speaking of festiuall daies, musicke, organs, clericall vestiments, which be things indifferent, *sed etiam de ieiunio & ciborum delectu quæ magis pungunt*, but also touching fasting and choyce of meats, which be more controuerted points. O what a holy and Christian disposition was that! what a zeale to the vnitie of the Catholike Church, and how contrary

to many malignant, and seditious spirits, which be now in Christs Church? who haue no voyces, as I haue said, but of debate and contradiction, contending for Scholasticke tryumph and victorie, in place to cry to Gods people, that which the Prophets were commanded to cry, *Annuncia populo meo scelera eorum, & domui Iacob peccata illorum*, Threaten my people for their sinnes, and the house of *Iacob* for their iniquities; they cry that wee should learne subtle and curious controuersies of Religion, many of them bee as profound as prophane, they teach Christians to bee obstinate and stubborne, in trifling points, they teach them to heat one another, and to abhorre all meanes of pacification, their voice is like vnto the voice of the Eagle in the Apocalyps, who tripled her cry, *va, va, va habitantibus in terra*: woe bee to the inhabitants of the earth, because they haue broken the bonds of Christian peace and harmonie.

Isa: 8.

The fire of our Christian charitie is quite extinguished, it is become like vnto that fire mentioned in the booke intituled Esdras, which before the captiuitie of Persia, was hidden in a pitt by some deuout Priest of Ierusalem, that it should not dye out, and being againe sought vpon the returne of *Nehemiah*, the Text sayes, *non inuenerunt ignem, sed aquam crassam*, they found no fire, but a grosse water. In place, that through the fire of mutuall loue we should seeke with the Doue, to remaine together in the Arke of the Catholike faith; Religious men are gone out with the Rauen to hunt carrions among the waters of this world, following the sent of honour, ambition, and wealth: Priests seeking to bee Monarches, the Clergie becomming factious and irreconciliable, hunting after the vaine glorie of learning, *Ephraim pascit ventum & sequitur æstum*, Ephraim feeds vpon the winde, that I thinke bee pastorall follies and neglect: the world was neuer so pregnant and raging with the twelue abuses of the earth, A wise man without works, an olde man without religion, a youth without

Hos: 12.

out obedience, a rich man without almes, a woman without shamefastnesse, a Master of a house without vertue, a poore man proud, a King vniust, a Bishop negligent, a people without discipline, a Preacher without humilitie, and finally, a Christian contentious.

These be the waters wherein wee are drowned; waters whereof the Prophet Dauid hath said, *Saluum Domine me fac quoniam intrauerunt aquæ vsque ad animam meam*: Preserue me ô Lord, because the waters haue entred into my soule; and all these for our proud contempt of Christian simpathie and loue, whereof if our spirituall Rulers of Gods people did retaine some true sparkles, *aquæ multæ non poterunt extinguere charitatem*, many waters could not extinguish the heat of charitie. Miserable are those Pastors, who altogether want this diuine inspiration of Christian concord, which was in Luther and Bucer, *Væ ijs qui sequuntur spiritum suum & non videt*, woe shall be to them, who follow their owne spirit, and doe not see. Let them remember how the Wiseman saith, *durissimum erit iudicium his qui præsunt*, most hard shall be the iudgement of those, who are placed to ouer-watch people: whereof the Prophet *Daniel* giueth the reason, *Egressa est iniquitas a senioribus & ab ijs qui videbantur regere populum*, saith hee, *Iniquity is gone out from the Elders, and from those who seemed to bee leaders of the people*: and how the Prophet *Ezechiel* doth in his ninth Chapter practise that hard iudgement, where God did command the destroying Angell saying, *Incipite à sanctuario meo*, Goe through, destroy both young and old, and all sexe, but begin at my sanctuary, and in that same place commandement was giuen to him who was clad in linnen to marke them with the letter *Tau*, whom hee should finde mourning for the abomination of Ierusalem. Most blessed are these Pastours, whose delight is with the renowmed *Iunius*, *Spirare vnitatem Ecclesiæ*, to sing as hee hath done the sweete harmony, *O quam bonum & quam iucundum est habitare fra-*

tres vna, Oh how good a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in vnity; and bleſſed are thoſe Preachers who mourne for Ieruſalem, with thoſe who were ſaued in *Ezechiel*, for if they mourne, many ſhall mourne with them, if they ſhall carry that happy letter in their front, multitudes ſhall carry it with them, *Secundum iudicem populus ſic & populus* ſaith *Salomon*, as the Rulers be in heart affected to peace, or diſtracted, euen ſo are the people, God of his mercy ſo grant it, that they may ſtill heare in their eares that ſound of the great S. *Paul*, *Si diſtribuero omnes meas facultates pauperibus, ſi corpus meum ita vt ardeam, charitatem autẽ, non habuero nihil mihi prodeſt.* If I ſhould, ſaith he, ſpend all my riches on the poore, if I ſhould burne my body for zeale and haue no charitie, it doth auaile me nothing.

But now to follow our purpoſe ſpeaking of Chriſtian reformation, a more ſure preſident and exemplar then *Luther* and *Bucer*, haue wee for the peace of the Church, to follow all that which hath beene obſerued by antiquitie not contrary to Gods word. Let vs conſider the graue iudgement of the worthy & learned *Zanchius*, chiefe planet of our own ſpheare, as you ſhall read it here ſincerely tranſlated from his owne Text, *De vera reformandarũ Eccleſiarum ratione*, of the true way of the reformation of Chriſtian Churches. Whatſoeuer ſaith hee, is in the Church of Rome, it is either agreeable to the written word, contrary to it, or indifferent. For the firſt, that which is agreeable is to be retained, or if it was reiected, it s againe to be receiued. For the ſecond, that which is contrary is to be refuſed, or if it hath bin followed, it is again to be forſaken: For the third, that which is ἀδιάφορον, or indifferent. Firſt, we muſt not account of it, as if it did belong vnto ſaluation, next wee muſt follow the rule of the Apoſtle, that nothing be brought into the Church, but that which doth tend to edification, order, or vnitie: all indifferent ceremonies and rites therefore may be followed ſaith hee, for one of theſe re-

respects, but so followed, as that wee doe still preferre things more ancient to those which are more late; aswell for the honour of antiquitie, as because of the true saying of *Tertullian*, *Quo quid in Ecclesia antiquius eo etiam verius*, That which is the more ancient in the Church is the more true: Whatsoeuer (saith *Zanchius*) is besides the written word either in the generall Councells in the Fathers, or in the papall Decrees, they bee vnder the aforesaid distinction, so that albeit nothing can binde the conscience but canonicall Scripture, yet to introduce nouelties in the Church, or to banish any thing which from primitiue times haue beene allowed by Catholike consent, to doe such things without the authoritie of generall Councells, it is not lawfull for any man who feareth God, saith *Zanchius*. Seeing this profound and truly reformed Diuine, who was in his time, *Lux sidus fidus*, a bright starre in the Church, doth so reuerence antiquity: is it not wonderfull that wee, I know not who, wee who haue scarcely beene twise or thrise in a pulpit, wee who ought to say much more then *Iob* did, *horsterni sumus & ignari*, that we should contemne antiquitie, and mock the primitiue policy & ceremonies of the Church, seeing the Prophet *Ieremy* hath so recōmended the credit of antiquity in his time as to say, *State super vias antiquas & videte quæ sit via antiqua bona, & ambulate in ea & inuenietis refrigerium animabus vestris*: Stand vpon the way, saith he, and behold and aske which is the ancient good way, and walke in it, and ye shall finde refreshment to your soules, seeing the Prophet *Esay* foretelling the reformation of the Church, doth altogether ground it vpon antiquity, saying: I will restore vnto you your Iudges as they were before, and your Elders as they were anciently, that then you may be called a Citie of righteousnes, and a faithfull Citie. And *Iob* a man of God, full of wisdome, aske saith hee, the former ages, and enquire diligently of their Fathers: and Christ himselfe did so honour antiquity for reformation, that hee did reduce them there-

Iob. 9.

Ierem. 9.

Esa. 1.

Matth. 19.

unto, saying in the case of matrimony, *Non sic fuit ab initio*, It was not so from the beginning.

In that speech of *Zanchius* we do marke this, that the reiecting of any ancient Tradition which is not contrary to Gods word, it is not onely to depart from the Church of Rome (which also is a fault) to breake any bond of vnity where it may be kept with a good conscience, but it is also a departing from the primitiue Church, from the which, these were deriued in the Church of Rome, and I doe appeale vnto the diuine light of your conscience (whither you be Papist or Puritan) if you doe not thinke this ground of *Zanchius* to bee a most sure and Christian meanes to reforme the Church of God: for certainely it is not onely at Rome, nor onely at Geneua where good Christians are made, nor they onely who haue had the right gouernment of Christs Church, Ambition and Tyranny, hath spoyled the Ecclesiasticall policy there, and nakednesse and pretended puritie hath made it contemptible heere, and both haue the like ends to make the world to cry, *Great is Diana* among the Ephesians, and there is none but she.

Alwayes this opinion of *Zanchius* iumpe with that of S. *Augustine* which I haue rehearsed, and with all antiquitie for acceptation in the Church of the ancient gouernment, and indifferent ceremonies tending to edification or vnitie, because it doth concerne vs who be subiects of Noth-britanne, not onely for the hope of Catholike or vniuersall reformation which was the thing meant by those Diuines, but it concernes vs more neerly for intestine vnity, and coniunction with our *half-arch* the Church of England, whose reformation, because it hath beene blessed of God and most perfect of all those of later times, wee are the more specially bound to embrace it seeing our opposition thereto is not onely to bee against Gods glory by maintaining distraction within the Church, but it is apparantly a schismatike alienation from the state, for Religion is the soule of the ciuill state;

And

And consequently dissention in religion dissention in the state, therefore out of that spirit of Christian loue which God willeth to rule vs, I wish all men to dispose themselues to this happie Vnion, and to reuerence this time wherein we are, and whereof the chiefest mystery is not yet seene: albeit the seale thereof be alreadie opened and we haue alreadie seene miraculous things; If we doe Christianly sympathize with the time to honour these glorious preambles of a generall reformation, which God doth set a worke by the erection of the Monarchie of great Britaine in the Royall Person of our most gracious Soueraigne, and if we can turne the ambitious craft of the *Iesuits* into a Christian wisdom against himself, that as he striueth to reduce the whole world vnder the Tyrannie of his High Priest, So we may with the force of vnited mindes assist the rising and encrease of this great Kingdome, in the hope of a generall restauration of Christs Church, what know we what God intendeth yet to bring about by this mighty Prince, whose exaltation, in the prouidence of the Almightie, hath already brought the whole world in admiration: what know we what he who did so long Prophesie by the mouth of *Ieremy*, the comming of *Cyrus* to restore Ierusalem, he who made *Cyrus* at his comming to cry, the Lord God of heauen hath giuen me the kingdomes of the earth, that I should build a house to him in Ierusalem, what know we what he hath propounded to doe by this vertuous Monarch, whom he hath so extraordinarily raised, and made him Master of puissant Kingdomes, what can we iudge of those currant prophesies of our fore fathers for his being Emperour, and for his ransacking of the wals of Rome, doe not we see how he hath already begunne to shake those wals, and to breake the hornes of that Beast; Let no man be so simple as to doubt, but one day God hath predestinate by some Christian *Cyrus* to reforme that city, and to restore his people from that spirituall captiuity; Yea, let no man doubt but that the time

of that great Iubile doth approach, (as I will shew heereafter) If wee by our obstinate distractions and diuision doe not preuent it, and therefore thou who abhorrest any law or ordinance which may tend to a firme coniunction of this Isle, or who doest repine in any sort against that great instrument whom God hath sent to reforme his Church, thou shalt be infinitely blessed of God, if by thy conformity thou can once take away that greeuous imputation of the Papist, who to the reproach of the Gospell doth affirme thus; That after *Luther* who was that *Nimrod* (as he saith) that enterprized the tower of heresie against the Apostolicall seate of Rome, all those who did concurre to that building were (like vnto those sons of *Adam* who builded Babylon) punished of God with confusion of tongues, that one did not vnderstand another; All the followers of *Luther* Lutherians, Semi Luth. Contr Luth. Hussists, Zwinglians, Semizwing: Melanchonists, Brownists, Anabaptists, Caluinists, Bezaists & many moe whom he doth numerate, to all which saith he, *Dominus confudit labium*, the Lord hath confounded their language, that of all the reformed Churches of Germany, France, Holland, Geneua, Britaine, not one doth altogether agree with another, and diuers of them disagreeing within themselues, either in doctrine, in ceremonies, in gouernment, or somewhat else; of which fearefull and scandalous oblatration, seeing you who are the Puritan cannot denie for your part to be Authour, I thinke it should make the most impudent and affronted face among you to blush, in case their rest in it any drops of good and ingenuous bloud, Being in this contemplation of the meanes of Christian concord, before I speake of the reformation of the Church of Rome, I will discourse some what of the meanes of our domesticke coniunction with the Church of England, because it is more neere vnto vs, and bringeth vs also mor neere to the possibilities of vniuersall Reformation.

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX.

A Triall of the best and surest Policies which bee in Nature, in Ciuility, in Oëconomy, in Morality.

IN matter of *Doctrine* we make one profession with the Church of England founded vpon the purity of Gods word. The odds be either in the Church policie or in some indifferent ceremonies, I speake of odds in policie, by reason of you, who be opponents in your hearts to the State of Bishops: So before I will touch the Ceremonies, I will deale with you vpon that head: As for the Theologicall and more subtile disputation of the Theme of Episcopall Regiment, it is so exactly done by diuers reuerend and learned Diuines, that it hath not much neede of my contribution, only I will select some cleere, sincere and most diffestable arguments for your information, and because many of you who bee thus distracted, haue neuer tasted the pure fountaines of true and naturall knowledge, which is not the least cause of your Errour, therefore I will shew you into this chapter, what is the gouernment which God did plant in the creation of nature, and what affinity it hath with such policies as haue since followed and fallen out through the world in Church or in state, whereinto, if I doe a little insist to expresse the lawfulnes and vertue of the *Monarchall Rule*, it is not to induce a Monarchall gouernement in the Church which is a Popish inuention, and heere also sufficiently answered. But first it is to poynt foorth the power of God in *annointed Kings*, against the pernicious doctrine of those, who teach the contempt and violation of Kingly authority: And secondly it is to shew, that as God did frame the gouernment of his first Church of the Iewes, not much vnlike to that of nature, euen so if we seeke the originall Idæa of true ecclesiasti-

call

call policy, in the right Horoſchope, and if we pronounce it with a right aire, we ſhall find, and we may ſay it without offence, that the firſt image of whatſoeuer gouernment agreeable to Gods will, hath beene conceiued into nature, in the order whereof God hath auoyded two things, and hath reſerued one peculiar to himſelfe, abſolute ſoueraignetie or a power meerely vnicall: and an Anarchie or popular confuſion, neither of theſe two hath he willed, that as on the one part no creature ſhould haue a *Monarchall Supremacie*, exempted from neceſſarie correſpondence, and ſimpathie with dependent members, ſo on the other ſide no indiuiduall parts of one kinde, might ſubſiſt without a head, through whom they muſt receiue the order and direction of their motions: The vnity againe of abſolute *Supremacie* in heauen and earth, God hath concluded within the Center of his diuine throne proper to himſelfe, that no particular Creature in nature can be capable thereof, ſo that it is equally ridiculous to ſay, the Lyon cannot be cheife of beaſts, vnleſſe the Indian, Libian and Barbarian Lyons, bee all ſubiect to one Monarchall Lyon: The Kings of the earth cannot be lawfull Kings, vnleſſe there be one ſupreme Monarch ouer them all, which cannot bee in any but in God, the Primates of nationall Churches cannot bee lawfull Biſhops, vnleſſe they bee vnited vnder one Hierarchie, which cannot bee in any one perſon but in *Ieſus Chriſt* the ſecond perſon of the Trinity. And as wee ſee in nature the more excellent creatures tied by a wonderfull ſimpathie to their inferiours, that they are rather fathers to them, then Dominatours ouer them, as the ſupernall ſpheares make perpetuall influctions in the body of the Moone, to mainraine her operation, and as the Element of the fire doth purge the aire below it, and nouriſh the earth with continuall heate. So we ſee a vertuous Prince vnder the name of a Monarch, he doth infuſe his power into the chiefeſt of his members, and maketh his Rule in effect Ariſtocraticke, euen ſo in the Church vnder

predominant

predominate names of Bishop, Archbishop Metropolitane, the gouernment is Monarchall in Christ the head, Aristocraticke in the Bishops, and Democraticke, in the Presbyters and laye Elders, by their mutuall harmonie, as is hereafter more amply declared: Thus is nature the Fountaine of knowledge vnder God, and the fittest schoole to rectifie our iudgements, chiefly in matter of Policie, because the Lord hath manifested himselfe in his workes, letting vs see how one miraculous hand, and not two, hath framed them by one miraculous Artifice, and not two; to one end, and not to two, breathing motion in them from one spirit, and not from two, subiecting them to one law, and not to two, and to one sort of gouernment, and not to two: as he is God *One*, and vnited in himselfe, so hath he vnited them Symbolically among themselues, & all conioyned to be the Symbal of his glory, power, and wisedome: So that what naturall instinction we find among brute beasts for order, or for subiection and commandement: it is a type to vs of that rule which is among the Elements, the Elementall gouernement is a figure of that which is among the Celestiall Spheares, and that againe doth represent the Angelicall policie, and all those considered coniunctly are a shadow of that rule which God hath ouer the vniuerse. *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.*

To proceed for the vertue of the Monarchie, I found my first argument for it in this sort; These Creatures which are neerest to God, are of most noble and perfect of nature, for example: That Spheare which is next vnto the throne of God, called by the Cabbalists the great *Metatron*, which receiueth the tenne seuerall emanations of God to be distributed among the tenne Spheares, called of them, *Decem Zephiroth*, to make from them seuerall influences into the inferiour world, who doth doubt but that Spheare and the great Archangel, who moueth it, are more excellent creatures then the Spheare of the Moone, or the manner thereof, which is called of

the Philosophers, *Cœlum terrestre & terra cœlestis*, a heauenly earth, and a terrestriall heauen; because it is a mediate Creature betwixt cœlestiall and Elementar things, for as the fire is the Masculine Element or the Agent which giueth life to inferiour things: and the earth Feminine or patient who doth receiue this life, so the globe of the Moone is the Feminine of that high Spheare, who receiueth in her belly these celestiall influxions, and (as pregnant of them) doth deliuer them monethly as wee see, being in that sort farre inferiour to the excellence of the other: and as it is in Creatures, that the neerest to God is most excellent, so it is in the order of Creatures, that action which doth resemble the action of God is most perfect: Now for the *Hypothesis* I subsume, that there is not so noble a Creature of God, as is the holy vniuerse; and therefore no gouernment is more excellent then that whereby the world is gouerned, which is the Monarchiall power of God himselfe, who is Lord ouer all, for to those who will hold that the rule of God is Aristocraticke, by reason of the Trinitie: I answere, that the works of God which be *Ad extra*, as the Theologes speake: They proceede, *à Deo tanquam vno, & non tanquam Trino.*

Vnder this supreme rule of God, we do obserue Monarchiall gouernment, both in the constitutions seuerall of the vniuerse, and in the administrations seuerall of the vniuerse: In the constitutions this way, all the seuerall Creatures of the world are vnder the vnity, and common instinction of generall nature one mother of all: All the accidents of one subiect vnder one vnitie thereof, things many in number be vnder the vnitie of *vna species*. All men vnder the *Species* of mankind, all horses vnder the *Species* of that kind, and so foorth: Things that bee many in kind againe, bee all vnder one gender; Man, Beast and Plant are *Animalia*, and feele a common instinct of that *Genus*: In the seuerall administrations wee doe obserue it thus, The seuerall persons of the glorious

Trinitie

Trinitie be in one Godhead. All theſe tenne *Zephiroth*, receiue their vertues from the ſupreme *Metatron*, and all the Spheares doe obey the motion of one *Primum mobile*: ſo that we haue the ſupreme Archangel *Michael*, ouer the powers and orders Angelicall, who is Chriſt, becauſe he is called the Angell of the *Great Counſell*, *Et vocabitur magni Conſilij Angelus*: And he is called the Angell of the Teſtament: *Statim veniet ad Templum Angelus Teſtamenti quem vos vultis*, ſaith *Malachie*: We haue the ſunne among the Planets, the fire among the Elements, Man ouer liuing Creatures, the Lyon ouer foure-footed beaſts, the Eagle ouer fowles, the Whale ouer fiſhes, the Diamond among the Iewels, the Gold among the mettals, the Balme among the Gummes, the Cedar among the Plants, the Roſe among the flowers, the Wheate among cornes, the Bees haue their King, the Cranes haue their leader, the Herring of the ſea, and the creeping Ants haue the ſame, among the Vines one is Maſculine, and one Feminine; ſo it is among the Trees, Herbes, Iewels, mettals, one Archidiable is ouer vnclean ſpirits, one head being the ſeat of all the ſenſes, ruleth all the members of the body, one reaſon ſitteth as a king ouer all the ſenſual affections. In Sciences Ethicall *Architectonica* is aboue the reſt, in theſe which be cõtemplatiue, the metaphiſicke hath the place of Miſtreſſe, and *Theologie*, as Queene ruleth ouer all, *Reliquæ tanquam ancillæ famulantur*: the reſt be as her ſeruing mayds: There you ſee a ſhort Anatomy of the vniuerſall and particular rule of nature; in all which we marke nothing but Monarcall and harmonicall ſoueraignity, without any type or Symball of theſe Democraticall, Conſiſtorian, Presbyterian or other ſorts of popular and confuſed gouernments whatſoeuer, which corruption of time, and the ambition of men haue introduced in the world; as all light is deriued from one Sunne, all humours from one Moone, all waters from one Ocean, ſo doe all lawfull and ſolid gouernments, flow from God in one Nature, and in one Architype. Eſay 9.

It reſts to conſider theſe gouernements which bee among men, and they are either Spirituall or Temporall, Temporall is either priuate or publike, priuate is it which we call morall, or a mans rule ouer himſelfe, and to ſpeake firſt of that, it is meerely Monarchiall, becauſe it is done by reaſon as a King. The Philoſophers doe eſteeme euery wiſe man to be a Monarch; and the firſt among Kings, *Sapiens vno minor eſt Ioue, Rex denig, Regum:* That no King was greater then a wiſe man but *Iupiter: Multoties reges ſi ratio te rexerit:* ſaith *Seneca*, You ſhall be many wayes a king, if you can be king ouer your ſelfe: yea, the Spirit of God in the Apocalips ſaith, as much as theſe Philoſophers, *Feciſti nos Deo noſtro reges & Sacerdotes*, You haue made vs Kings and Prieſts vnto God: certaine there cannot be a more princely rule, nor more difficill, then to daunt the diſordered paſſions of our ſpirits, which as a ſeditious popular doe ſtill perturbe the tranquillity of the mind, if reaſon do not ſit in his throne aboue their neckes to puniſh thoſe. *Beſtias animæ* called by *Plato*. The temporal gouernment publike, of men, it is either Oeconomicall or Politicall: Oeconomicall is the rule of a family, and it is meerely ſoueraigne: one man is maſter euer the company of one houſe: politicall is a rule of many families which make Cities, Countreyes, Kingdomes, of all the ſorts whreof, the Monarchie (I ſay for the firſt) is moſt perfect, becauſe it comes neereſt vnto the rule of God in the conſtitution of nature. For the next I reaſon thus; There be in nature three kinds of Creatures; ſome with fewe meanes doe compaſſe ſmall good, as the vermine of the earth which be imperfect Creatures, ſome more perfect by many meanes doe attaine greater good, as man: ſome laſtly moſt perfect with few meanes doe attaine greateſt happineſſe as Angels: theſe that haue the moſt excellent and ſupreme dignitie doe the ſame, as that Archangell that turneth the Spheare of the firſt *Mobile*, is ſaid to moeue it in euery minute of the hower of foure and twentie howers, while

Apoc. 5.

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as there be 60. minutes in euery howre 500000. leagues, which is the reason why we must count him a more perfect creature then that Angell who ruleth the globe of the Sunne; much narrower then the other, and taketh no lesse then a whole yeare for his course. Summarily of diuers things which ayme at one marke, that is most excellent which doth most easily and most swiftlie attayne the same; I subsume that of all formes of gouernment, the Monarchie doth most preuaile that way, and I proue it thus:

Gouernment doth shew it selfe in three things: first, in the power and authoritie of those who commaund. secondly, in the diuturnitie of estate: thirdly, in the largenesse of dominion. For the first, I say that authoritie hath greater force where it is absolute and vnite, then where it is dispersed and limited. Naturall reason doth stand for it, *vis vnita fortior*, experience doth approue it. That statelie popular Common-weale of Rome in case of any notable danger was constrained to distrust hir ordinarie Magistrates, and to betake her selfe to the absolute and vnite power of the Dictator, as *Liuie* saith, *Videat Dictator ne quid Respub: detrimenti capiat*, let the Dictator prouide, that the Common-weale incurre no euill. which Dictatorship was a most soueraigne and powerfull authoritie for the time, and when at length that flourishing Common-wealth became mightie and great, there was no forme of gouernment could suffice to keepe it in good estate, vntill it did againe peece and peece turne to a Monarchie, first creating Dictators vpon occasions, and by intermission of time, next creating *Pompey* onely Consul. thirdly, *Cæsar Dictator in perpetuum*. And *Augustus* was receiued in the state absolute Monarch. And the greatest part of the Common-wealths of the earth this day, which be either Aristocraticall (that is to say, where a selected number of the most worthy doe gouerne) as at Venice, or which be Democraticall, (that is to say, meerely popular) as at Genua,

they are forced to acknowledge a certaine ſoueraigntie by eſtabliſhing of a Duke. For the ſecond, touching diuturnitie of States, Sparta was of the longeſt continuance eight hundred yeeres; as for Venice, which doth reckon eleuen or twelue hundred yeares, that is true, for the part of their Cittie, by reaſon of the ſtrength thereof by ſea, but their State hath been oftentimes altered, as their Stories doe record, and the gouernment it ſelfe frequently changed, being for the firſt Tribunitiall or popular, next vnder a Duke more abſolute then hee is now, then by little and little it became Ariſtocraticall, vntill in the yeare 1217. it came to this preſent condition wherein the great Councell was cloſed, and doth ſince admit no increaſe of their number. Sparta howſoeuer it ſeeme to be Reſpub: by limitation of their Kings to the Councell of the *Ephori*, yet in actions of warfare and danger his authoritie was abſolute: ſo that euen the Republicks in matters of weight and importance, they were forced to relie vpon Soueraigntie. In the meane time in place of one Cittie which hath ſtood three or foure hundred yeares, there be numbers of Monarchies which haue endured a thouſand or twelue hundred yeares. The Aſſyrians more then 1300. yeares. Preſter Iohn had his beginning before the incarnation, and doth yet remaine flouriſhing. The Romane Empire which I count Monarchicall, 1600. The kingdome of China is ſaid to be 2300. And of all thoſe of Europe the Royall Crowne of the houſe of Scotland knowne to bee infallible of greateſt antiquitie.

For the third concerning largeneſſe of domination, the Monarchie hath that way the greateſt aduantage. Diuers kingdoms haue been of more large and ſpacious Territories then the dominions of the Romane Empire, and many haue been equall. More large were the dominions of the Aſſyrians, Medes, Perſians, Greekes, and of the Scythians, yea forbearing to talke of antiquitie, the Ottomanicall Empire is more extended then was

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that of Rome. Rome was dilated from Atlant to England, 1200. myles, from the ſtreight of Gibalter to Euphrates 3000 myles, whereas the Turkiſh doth lye 4000. in length, and in bredth 3500. from Aſna to Aſaph, from Tauris to Buda, from Baſſara to Algar. Moreouer the Romane territories were yet more ample vnder the Emperor then before Auguſtus, there do this day beare rule in Aſia, great Cam and the great Mogor, whereof euery one may put into the fields three hundred thouſand horſe. The great Duke of Muſcouia whoſe bounds doe reach in length 1800. and in bredth 1600. And in the Spaniſh domination we haue a great example of Monarchicall vertue, which doth in largeneſſe equall many Empires that hath been, except that it is weake by diſiunction alwaies to brooke diſperſed ſtates among diuerſities of people, languages, and manners, in the ancient and new found world vnder both poles, poſſeſſing the moſt rich Prouinces of Europe in the eyes of ſtrong and dangerous emulators, it proues the Monarchiall rule to bee matchles and moſt ſolide. Briefly for one Repub: there be great numbers of principalities throughout Europe. Venice, Genua, Raguzia, Luca, Geneua, with the Cantons of the Swiſſers and Griſons, and 60. Townes in Almanie which be free, all the Remanant being poſſeſſed in Monarchie. In Aſia and Africa, wee heare of no gouernment but ſoueraigne, ſo that Monarchie doth in effect draw vnder it the whole world after the inſtinct of nature, which is the reaſon why the greateſt Clerks & Stateſmen both, do hold that God & nature do fauor the increaſe of Monarchie, more then of any other ſtate, and we marke it ordinarily, and it commeth alſo to paſſe ſometimes, by meanes which can neuer be incident in Republicks, as many Principalities falling in one by the lot of Succeſſion and heyres of one houſe, which hath within theſe few yeares wonderfully enlarged the Crowne of Spaine, by the confluence of diuers Kingdomes and Seigniories into it, as Riuers

uers into one Ocean, and as our most fortunate Isle of Great Brittaine hath been lately erected into a puissant Monarchie, by the like coniunction of diuers kingdoms, aspiring in the strength of these to greater height, which things could neuer arriue into a Repub: *quia non moritur Respub: nec habet heredes*, the Common-wealth dieth not, nor hath any heyres as Kings doe. Moreouer wee collect by the holy Scripture, that the dilatation of Empires is a benediction of God, which since it falleth out by monarchie, therefore vnto it must also appertaine the blessing. The reason of this is, because the plurality of pettie Princes and Estates, doe make them commonly to liue in æmulation and strife, and make great subiects to be insolent and contentious, which breedeth ciuill discord, and often times distraction in religion, grieuances and annoyances of people, so farre that wee read how multitude of Princes is permitted by God for the punishment of our sinnes.

As this point now is true, that the vertuous effects of Monarchicall gouernment doe approue the lawfulnesse of it, so doth the holy Scripture confirme the same. Christ himselfe commanded to obey Cæsar, the two Archiapostles Peter, and Paul from his inspiration did teach the same. Paul hath showne himselfe a patron of supreme authoritie, *Let euery soule be subiect to superiour powers*, which in his time were onely but Ethnick Kings. Peter hath commanded vs to submit our selues to all manner of ordinances of Kings, or of Gouernours vnder Kings, whether they bee good, or bad. And all the Doctors of the Church haue clearely been of this opinion in fauour of monarchie, that it was one of the chiefest blessings which God did vouchsafe vpon the Israelites, the coniunction of the tree of Ioseph which was in the hand of Ephraim, with the tree of Iuda, as wee finde in the 30. Chap: of Ezechiel, that they should be all vnder one King, and be no more a deuided people, saith God in that place, for the Princely authoritie. We haue

Iustines

Iustin orat. ad Graecos, *Athanasius* orations, *contra Idola. Chrysost. Homil.* 34 on the 1. Cor. *Cyprian de vanitate Idolorum. Ierom, Epi.* 4. *Leon. Sermo.* 1. *de nativitate. Tho. de Aquin.* and all the learned sort of them haue preferred it, also all the famous Poets, Orators, Philosophers, Historiographers, haue done the same out of the light of nature. *Homer* 2. Booke, *Euripides in Andromache*, *Isocrates ad Nicom: Demosthenes Olym.* 1. *Dion.* Hist. *Roma.* Lib. 44. *Plinie* li. 11. cap. 1. *Plato in Politicis*, *Aristot.* lib. 12. Metaph. *Senec* lib. 2. *de benef.* ca. 20. *Plutar.* de *tribus generibus Reipub.* and as many moe as haue written, haue left the same ground in their Books. As both these be most true, so it is most true also, and a strong argument for Monarchy, for the third, that the thundering of Gods iudgements against those who attempted to violate, euen wicked and tyrannous Princes, it doth approue that calling to be a true ordinance of God: The banishers of the Romane Kings, first *Tarquinius superbus*, then of *Iulius Cæsar* (who in effect was a King) bearing still the name of *Brutus*, howsoeuer these enterprises seemed for the time to bee vertuously vndergone, against vniust vsurpatours or wicked Kings, yet the issue of the actors did shew to bee a diuine vindication: The first *Brutus* was brought vpon the parricied of his owne sonnes, and had his owne life spoyled thereafter, the last of them, that pretended braue *Brutus*, who was called *Vltimus Romanorum*, becausse after him none did dreame any more of Romane liberty: he after a wretched while of afflictions did dye by his owne hand: attesting the Gods, *Virtuti fortunam defuisse*, that fortune was, conspired against his vertue, and leauing behinde him to the world a bloody name, which hath no other vse, why to bee remembred of men, but when it is applyed to those trecherous Traytors in whom his spirit hath made transmigration, to bee perfidious murtherers of lawfull Kings, as I haue said before, and all his complices the killers of *Cæsar*, being mightie men of

resolued action and strongly fortified, they did all perish by a sudden reuenge as the story tells, *Intra annum vertentem*, before the turning about of one yeere; which made *Cardan* to say, that the ghost of *Cæsar* was *Maximus Dæmon*, a terrible spirit of reuenge, and made other Philosophers to say of him, *Non mortuus est homo, sed reuersus quidem Deus in locum suum*, That by the slaughter of *Cæsar* no man was dead, but a certaine god returned to his owne seat from whence hee came; *Cassius* in like manner the chiefe contriuer of that murther, the night before the battell of *Philippi*, being visibly terrified with the ghost of *Cæsar*, he procured himselfe to be dispatched by the hand of his owne seruant, and nothing did ensue thereafter during the space almost of twentie yeeres; in the time of the Triumuiri, but fires of ciuill combustion and bloud-shed, wherein *Ambo, Lep. Pompe Sextus, Cicero*, and all the ambitious spirits were spent with infinite numbers of the popular, and what violation of Kings and Princes hath not the like euent? A more barbarous and more supportable tyranny, yea a more cruell brutish man hath neuer beene then *Nero*, the surprise of whose life, was accompained with the murther of three succeeding Emperours, *Galba, Otho, Vitellius*, all within two yeeres, of whom *Otho* the worthier of the three was made his owne executioner; besides many thousands of Romane Gentlemen, whose liues were the propiniatory sacrifice to the gods, for the contemptible *Nero*. To come to domesticke examples, *Richard* the second of England degraded as an vnworthy Prince: but in their stories wee see that an omnipotent reuenge did follow vpon it: for *Henry* the fourth in his time had no other actions, but the dispatching and ouerthrowe of those who were of his side against *Richard*, so was he enraged with feare and iealousie, his sonne againe had some intestine repois and peace by meanes of his warres in France: but his successour, *Henry* the sixt was depriued, his sonne *Edward* poysoned, his chil-

children murthered, by their cruell Vncle the Duke of Gloceſter, and his tyranny againe intercepted by *Henry* the ſeuenth. Theſe were the infinite effulions of natiue bloud, during that tempeſt of *Naufrage*, wherein their Writers doe collect, haue beene ſixteene or 17 ſeuerall pitched battells, the ſlaughter of nine Kings, or Kings ſonnes, forty Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earles, 100000. of the popular. And what extraordinary puniſhment haue wee in our time ſeene inflicted, vpon the perſons, houſes, and ſtates of diuerſe diſloyall ſubiects, who haue attempted to abuſe the ſacred authority of our moſt gracious Soueraigne: certaine it is a ground in reaſon, a tryall in experience, a concluſion of all politickes, and warranted by Gods word in holy Scripture, ſtrengthened with the opinion of graue Doctors of the Church. That Rebellon doeth euer moue greater miſchiefe then Tyranny.

CHAP. X.

A defence of Epiſcopall gouernment by diuerſe moſt cleere and ingenuous reaſons.

NOw wee come to conſider what affinitie, the Church gouernment hath with thoſe others whereof we haue ſpoken before the written Law of *Moſes* God did elect ſo many Patriarckes, to rule his firſt Church: *Enos*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob*, and others: And our Sauiour before the written Law of the Euangel, or of grace, hee did elect ſo many Apoſtles to rule the ſecond, whereof the former was the type: when the numbers of the beleeuers did increaſe, euen vnto *Moſes* were adioyned ſeuenty to aſſiſt him in his charge; ſo did Chriſt, next his twelue Apoſtles elect ſeuenty Diſciples. In Iſrael there were many particular Princes and Elders of the people, who did rule euery

man his own Centuries, and Chiliads, but these seuenty were created to beare vniuersal rule, as we collect frō the words of *Moses*, *Ego solus ferre omnem populum istum non possum* I only cannot beare the charge of this people, answere, *Congrega tibi*, gather vnto you, which is to be his Collegues, and yet they were subordinate, for while *Moses* went to the mountaine, he left a deputation ouer the people, *Ecce Aaron & Hur*. if any man haue controuersie let him come to *Aaron* and *Hur*; euen so these seuenty Disciples howsoeuer they were adioyned to the Apostles, yet they were subordinate and inferiour, the Apostles being still chosen to be conuersant with Christ, constant witnesses of all his actions, and onely intire with him, like vnto *Moses* who onely went vp to talke with God. We read in the twelfth of the Acts, how the Apostles found *Iustus* and *Matthias* onely sufficient of all the rest to succeed in the place of *Judas*, argument enough of the Apostolicall superiority ouer them, *Luke* againe and *Marke* were of good authorities among the Apostles, because they were the Euangelical Historians, yet were they not of the seuenty Euangelists, being elected by men and not our Sauiour, as *Tertullian* writeth of *Luke*, *Non Apostolus sed Apostolicus, non Magister sed Discipulus vtiq; Magistro minor*, Not an Apostle but Apostolicall, no Master, but Disciple, and alwaies inferiour to the Master. That diuerse had the holy spirite, as the Apostles, who were not yet their equals it is euident, after their dispersion *Philip* did Euangelize at Samaria, but *Peter* & *Iohn* were sent to constitute the churches. The holy spirit without the ministery of S. *Paul*, did come vpon *Cornelius* and his company: for besides these two orders of Apostles and Disciples, there was a third, among the number of an hundred who were present at the choosing of *Matthias*, besides the twelue Apostles, and seuenty Disciples, there were thirty eight who beene in neither ordination were Prophets, as all the learned do affirme who treat of this point, of which num-

Tertul. contra. Marcion. li. 4.

number was *Ananias*, and *Agabus* endued with prophe-
ticall spirits, to impart to the Church diuers reuelations
which they had.

Touching these againe who were thereafter called *E-
piscopi & Presbiteri*, we see that in the Apostles daies the
Church was a while without them: the first mention of
of that order we finde it in the Church of Ierusalem, in
the twelfth of the Acts; for so long as the Apostles and
Euangelists did remaine, there was neither *Episcopus* nor
Presbyter, but after they were disseuered. *Iames* being be-
headed, and *Peter* fled, then did they enter, & from that
forth, *Luke* doth coniunctly report of them with the
Apostles: Saint *Paul* so like vnto himselfe in all his Epi-
stles, we cannot thinke that without a reason in his Epi-
stle to the Philipians, hee hath giuen salutation to the
Episcopi and *Diaconi*, and hath not done so in the rest of
his Epistles. In that Epistle to the Romanes, hee salutes
diuers whom he calles his *co-operarij*, or fellow labourers
as *Andronicus* and *Vrbanus*, famous among the Apostles.
And of the Domestick Church which was some while at Acts 19. 28.
Ephesus, and somewhile at Corinth, to these hee giues
them their owne praises, yet doth he not call them *Epis-
copi* nor *Presbyteri*, as hee doth *Epaphroditus* in that to
the Philipians: And *Archippus* in that to the Colossians,
when hee came to Rome, we read how hee was recei-
ued, but by no *Presbiteri*, which had not beene omitted,
if that ordination had beene then among them, more
then it is omitted in the 15. and 21. of the Acts, where
he is said to be receiued of Presbyters, all this time there
was no *Presbiteri* yet planted other then *Timothy, Ti-
tus, Apollo, Luke; Stephen, Fortun. Achai.* and a few o-
thers whom the Apostles did send vpon occasions, nor
these Churches had then no other Bishop but S. *Paul*.
In the meane time the Apostles and the Euangelists
did at their commodities visit them as *Epiphan.* and
Ambrosius beare witnesse. *Epiphanius* thus, while the
preaching of the Gospell was but resent the ho-

ly Apostle write according to the time, and to things that were, where there were *Episcopi* hee write to them, and vnto *Diaconi* where they were, for the Apostles did not ordinate, saith hee, al things vpon the sudden, there was great neede of *Presbiteri* and *Diaconi*, vnder the Apostles, because by these, Ecclesiasticall function is perfect. Where none was found worthy of Episcopall charge, that place did remaine without a Bishop, for they being no great multitude of beleeuers, saith he, they were no great numbers found capable of the Presbyterat, therefore the Church at that time did rest vnder the Apostolike Bishopricke till with time things grew to greater perfection; in which words we doe obserue this, that in the beginning while the Apostolicall mission was limited to Iudea, Christ did onely chuse 12. Apostles, and 70. Disciples, but after the Legation was generall both to Iew and Gentile, they tooke vnto them *co-operarij*, Euangelists, Prophets and others, and when the Gospell beganne to spred they did institute Episcopi and Presbyteri: So that Christs Church was planted by the like beginnings, and had the like growth of policie as that of Ierusalem; both hauing their originall in the persons of *Moses* the figure, and Christ the man figured, and both with time diuoluing by little and little into a diuersity of subordinate rulers, of whom the Apostle setteth downe the cleere distinction and imparity, giuing the first place to Apostles, the second to Euangelists, the third to Prophets, the fourth to Pastours, and the last to Doctours. Whereof the first of the number *Apostolus* doth comprehend in it as in *genere*, these whole species, ennumerated of spirituall functions, so that euery Apostle was also a Doctour but not reciprocally.

By these we doe manifestly see that Christ in the foundation of his Church, did follow for gouernment, the same Architype which was giuen vnto *Moses*, and that one God hath but one meaning of one order in matter of Policie, as I haue sayd; for if ye will hold this compa-

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rison betwixt the Iewish and Christian Church to be remote and fantasticke, because the first was Typicall, and is expired, I answer, There was in the Mosaicall Law three parts, the typicall, the morall, and the politicall: the daily sacrifice and these ceremoniall things which were figuratiue of Christs passion, they are finished and haue no imitation in Christs Church, but for the morall it doth remaine: the same Law lieth ouer vs which did astrict them, albeit we haue easier meanes to performe it by faith in *Iesus Christ*. And for the politicall it doth also remaine as S. *Paul* saith: *Know you not that those who minister at the altar, doe liue by the Altar &c?* 1.Cor.9.

But for the concordance of these two Churches in matter of Policie, I bring first the testimony of S. *Ambrose*, who expounding these words of S. *Paul* to *Timothy*, *Seniorem ne increpaueris*, doe not reproach an Elder, among other things he saith also thus: *Vnde Synagoga prius, & postea Ecclesia Seniores habuit sine quorum consilio nihil agebatur*, first the Iewish Synagogue, & then the Church of Christ had their *Elders* without whose Councell nothing was done. Next I bring the testimony of *Iohn Calvine*, who vpon the harmony of the Euangelists hath written thus, *Quant au nombre de 70. il me semble auoir*, &c. Touching the number of the 70. Disciples, it appeares to me (saith he) that our Sauiour hath followed the same order, whereunto the Iewes of old were subiect and accustomed: So many Apostles were chosen who should be as Patriarkes to assemble the members of the reall body of the Church, & for the like respect of imitation the 70. Disciples were elected, for we know saith he that *Moses* being vnable to beare the charge, tooke vnto him seuentie to gouerne the people. For of him who would obiect against the similitude of these Churches for policie, that the 70. of Israel were no spirituall Rulers, and therefore could not be resembled by the 70. Disciples, I would aske you how then did the holy spirit come vpon them, that they propheſied in the presence

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of the people, and how was the spirit of *Moses* parted among them. Thirdly I giue the Testimony of Doctour *Beza* who hath deriued his reformed discipline whereby the Elders be adioyned to the Pastours, from the Iewish example. But that which makes this poynt of the similitude in policie of these two Churches to be most cleere and out of doubt, is the opinion of S. *Ierom* the pretended Patron of the Presbyterians, who in the conclusion to the Epistle to *Euagrius* writeth thus, *Quod Aaron & filij eius atq; Leuitæ in templo gesserunt, hoc sibi Presbyteri, Episcopi, & Diaconi vindicent in Ecclesia, vt sciamus traditiones apostolicas de veteri Testamento sumptas esse*: saith hee, Whatsoeuer *Aaron* his sonnes and the Leuites did exercise in their persons in the Iewish Church, let Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons take on them to doe the same, that we may vnderstand (saith he) the Apostolicall Traditions are exemplary drawen out of the old Testament.

Of Episcopall Gouernment.

Alwaies heere it is where the Puritan and the Papist meet, to vrge one thing vpon the Leuiticall imitation in policie, the Puritan to inferre an inconuenient, the Papist to induce his aduantage, first, say they, if you appeale to this exemplar, how can you auoid Priestly Soueraignty, and a supreme Bishop: next they turne it ouer thus, If your bishops be in the Church for vnities sake (as they are) *ad tollenda Schismata*, then this argument following must be good. Either there is as great vnity in a parish vnder a Minister, as in a Dioceese vnder a Bishop, or else the more Churches make the greater vnity. If the second be true then must we allow the Hierarchall Supremacy, because thereby all Churches are reduced vnder one, so that vpon this the Papist will build his Popery, and the Puritan will haue our Bishops to bee Antichristian. Which obiection is so friuolous that *Caluine* himselfe (alleaged by them to bee a fautor of their Presbyterian rule) doth answer vnto it, saying, there is not the like reason betwixt a peculiar people as the Iewish Synagogue

Inst. lib. 4. cap. 6.

gogue, and the whole world, vnder the Gospell; Neither was it the meaning of our Saviour, that as euery particular Church should be vnder one Pastor, so all the world vnder one head, otherwise why did he choose his twelue together, and in parity? For howsoeuer we doe marke in the particular members of nature, manifest argument of Monarchiall policie, yet find we no generall vnity, nor absolute Soueraignty, but in God. As for example, although the Lyon be king of beasts, who did euer heare, that all Lyons were subiect to one Lyon? or that all Kings be ordinarily subiect to one Supreme Monarche. The Lord God is onely the Center from whence the diuersitie of nature hath proceeded, whereupon the Cabbalists did found that word, *In Centro veritas, in circumferentia nihil*, The verity is in the Center, and in the circumference nothing but shadowes, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture, *Solus Deus verus, & sermo eius veritas*: Onely God is true, and his word is only verity, the things of nature haue no other fountaine to returne vnto but God, nor no capitall vnion to repose into, but him. If the Angels haue their owne Hierarchies, we doe not read that they bee all vnder one head, vnlesse it bee the Lord Iesus Christ called by the Prophet the Angel of the Testament, and the Angel of the great Counsell, as is said before: As God hath reserued the Supremacie of generall nature to rest in his owne person, so hath Christ in his Church reserued it to himselfe, to be onely head thereof: in such sort that no Bishop can be called Antichristian, but in so farre, as he doth depend from the Papall Soueraignty, and as the setting vp of a second Bishop in one Diocesse, were to be Schismaticke from the first Bishop, so to introduce an vniuersall Bishop in Christes place, is to make defection from him. For euen as Christ did send his Twelue with equall Commission, and equall graces, that the establishing of our faith it ould be more miraculous by the vnanimity of twelue, then could haue beene by the consent of one, euen so hath it beene the

meaning of the Apostles and their successors, to maintaine Catholike vnitie, not by Hierarchall Supremacie in the person of one; no, lest it might both seeme a worke of man, and be the more easily corrupted, but that it might seeme the worke of God, and be the more miraculous by the harmony of many Bishops, who at all occasions might communicate the confessions of their faith, by their Canonicall, Pontificall, and publike letters. If any man did erre, they first sought him to be reformed by those, & failing thereof, they assembled their Counsels to depose him. *Cyprian* saith that the Catholike Church is one, not divided or rent with Schismes, *Sed coherentium sibi invicem Episcoporum glutino copulata*, as it were coupled together with the glew of Episcopall Concordance: therefore saith he the body of Bishops is copious, and tied together with the knot of mutuall vnity, that if any one should be author of heresie, the rest might indevour to controle him, & as this was the true meaning of the Apostles, so (to reason still from experience) it is true that vntill the comming of Papall tyranny in the yere 607. the Church of Christ was euer most free from that superstition, ambition, auarice, and impiety of manners which since haue spoiled all. *Lib. 4. Epist. 9.*

Seeing we haue thus truely and without inconuenience, brought the Ecclesiasticall gouernement to the rules of the old Testament, it may suffice to rectifie a good and iuditious mind in that matter of the Bishops, yet because it is a maine point, not onely of generall reformation, but of our intestine vnion with that perfect Church of England, & of our sincere coniunction also among our selues in Scotland, I will insist briefly in it, not into the idle perplexities which the malice and ignorance of you who be opponents doth moue, because they be exactly treated by learned diuines, onely because my discourse is Empericall. I will speake two or three words touching the promiscual and common vse of the names *Episcopus*, and *Presbyter*, (which is *media quæstionis*) affirmed

med by you to haue had no difference at all in the Apostolicall dayes, so that thereupon you doe build all the Sophistrie of the question. Secondly, I will giue you the cleere testimonies of the Catholike and Consentient Antiquitie vpon two things, one of the great vse and benefite which hath redowned to the Church, by the rule of Bishops; an other of their successiue continuation from the dayes of the Apostles hitherto, without intermission, excepting a few reformed Churches 60. yeeres agoe. Lastly I will set downe to you the iudgement, and meaning concerning Church Policie of all our famous reformatours, beginning at *Luther* euen vntill now, to let you see how they bee as farre against your Consistorian Discipline, as are our Bishops, who be now in gouernment.

And first concerning the communitie of the words *Episcopus* and *Presbyter*, it is true they were as they are still, *Vnus Episcopatus, vnum Presbyterium*, and if you please to say, *Vnus Apostolatus*: One and the same thing touching the substance of their ministrie, they preach one doctrine, but we must not from that homonomie of words enforce such wrangling conceits, as if we had not learned in the Logicall Schoole the definition of *Equiuoca verba, quorum nomen est commune, ea autem quæ nomini communi alia atq; alia*, which haue a common name, but things competent to the name most diuers in the one and in the other, they labour about one subiect, but they be distinguished by some accidentall points, wherein they differ by reason of degree of Ecclesiastical authority. *Quæ differunt solummodo quantitate, & qualitate, nondifferunt natura*, say the Philosophers, the things which differ onely in quantity and quality, they doe not differ in nature, as to say that the Archbishop hath within his rule the same power which the Patriarke within his, touching the substance of his charge, excepting some reseruations to the Patriarchall degree: vnto the which by reason of superioritie, appellation in some cases was made from the o-

thers, and to the which belongeth a power to conuocate Archbishops, by reason of more ample presedence: so euery Patriarchall Bishop, was an Archbishop, but not reciprocally. And euery Episcopus a Presbyter, but not reciprocally: while the Episcopall power was in the Apostles themselues, or in Apostolicall men, they who had that power, were still called Apostles, as by the worthier stile, and therefore *Ambrose* in some of his Treatises vpon the Gospell by Apostles doth vnderstand Bishops: and *Cyprian* in like manner, *Apostoles id est Episcopos & præpositos Dominus elegit*: The Lord chose Apostles, that is, Bishops and ouerrulers: for as *Theodoret* hath well obserued in these words, in time past saith he, they called one and the same man Bishop and Presbyter, and these who now are called Bishops, they named Apostles, but in processe of time they left the name of Apostles to those who were truely Apostles, and the name of *Episcopus* or Bishop they tooke away from *Presbyter*, and gaue it to those who were wont to be called Apostles, by confusion of names, onely saith he: which testimonie conferred with many others like, will make the trueth of the matter to be this, while as the Bishops were Apostles, or Apostolicall men: (for so were the first Bishops) the Angels of the Churches were also called Apostles of the Churches, other inferior Pastors were then called *Episcopi* and *Presbyteri*, by confusion of names, but when those first Bishops being dead, their successors were to be chosen out of the Presbyters (men neither Apostles nor Apostolicall) which *Ierom* noteth to haue beene done at *Alexandria* after the death of S. *Marke*, as you shall heare, and was done in other places where no Apostolicall men did rest aliue, then I say, and there, they left the name of Apostles: to Apostles indeed who were dead, and for difference from them they called the intrant successor *Episcopus*, or Bishop, and his inferiour minister againe *Presbyter*, allowing no more confusion of names, so that this cleare distinction both of names and offices,

1 Cor. 12. Ephes. 18. 4. *Lib. 3. Epist. 9.*

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was embraced in the very first succession of the Apostles. For Ignatius who was Bishop of Antioch in the Apostles time, after that Euodius had been there before him, hee did vsually distinguish these three degrees of the Clergie, as the Church hath euer done since by these three names: Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon, the difference of which degrees and the superioritie of Bishops, is witnessed by the same Ignatius, writing to the Smyrnenses, Let no man doe any thing appertayning to the Church, saith he, yea let not the administration of the Eucharist be lawfull, but by the Bishop, or by him who hath his authoritie from the Bishop.

Next touching the testimonies of Antiquitie vpon the vse and benefit of Episcopall Regiment, all the Fathers doe in one voyce applaude that which *Cyprian* the most modest of Bishops hath written in that point, affirming that all heresies and schismes haue euer flowed from discontented humours of those who contemne the authoritie of Bishops, which is placed to coerce, and correct them. *Vnde schismata & hæreses aborta sunt nisi dum Episcopus contemnitur, & homo dignatione Dei honoratus ab indignis hominibus iudicatur*, from whence are heresies, saith he, but because vnworthy men doe censure and despise him whom God hath honoured with preferment. *Cyprian: lib. 4. epist. 9.* *Basilius* saith, that the vnitie of the Church doth depend from the vnitie of the Bishop, and that the erection of a second Bishop within one Diocesse (vnlesse it be to help and assist him by his own consent) hath euer been esteemed the breeding of schisme: but of all the Auncients Saint *Ierom* doth best cleare the truth of this point, euen hee who is pretended to be *flagellum Episcoporum*, the scourge of Bishops, as you shall see. It is true indeed that *Ierom* writing vpon the first of the Epistle to Titus, hath once called the Episcopall authoritie rather a custome then an Apostolicall Tradition, saying thus: Before that by instinct of the Deuill there were factions in the Church, and that it was said among the people,

I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the Church was gouerned by the common consent of the Presbyters, but after through all the world it was decreed, that one of the Presbyters should be placed aboue the rest, to whom should appertaine the whole Ecclesiasticall care and extirpation of schisme. Thus far *Ierom*. Out of which words the Presbyterians doe extort this consequence, that the primitiue Church was gouerned by presbyteriall policie without Bishops: so this the answer is, first, if it were granted to come in by a consuetud and not by a primitiue tradition. Yet the consequence is voyde against Bishops, vnlesse we will say that Presbyters and Deacons were not neither an Apostolicall ordination, because in the beginning the Apostles did gouerne the Church without both these, by consent of the people, as it is manifest by the Epistle to Titus, as Creta, Corynth, Ephesus and Philippi before they had Episcopus or Presbyter, whom when they did receiue, the Church did yet remaine vnder the rule of the Apostles. Secondly, it is answered where hee speakes of the choosing of one Presbyter aboue the rest, for taking order with schismes, that schismes were begun in the Apostles owne time, so that this same election hath been also then begun: or otherwise, that the Apostles haue not been so wise as their Successors, which were absurd to hold. Thirdly, it is answered, that reason of *Ierom* taketh away Deacons as well as Bishops, because the murmurations of the Greekes against the Hebrewes, moued that institution as wee know, which was not in the beginning. Fourthly, it is answered, this opinion of *Ierom* is singular, and perhaps of temerarious and discontented humour, hee being but a Presbyter. For while he speaketh of a nouelrie in the Church accepted through all the world, he should haue put downe the time by particular circumstances, otherwise hee leaueth his opinion weake and obnoxious. Lastly, the answer is, The best Doctors of the Church haue erred in their writts, and haue set

Acts 6.

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downe their Retractions. as *Augustine*, so is it of veritie, that *Ierom* hath mended himselfe in his particulars, and hath made an ample palinode and Recantation, albeit in this argument it is ouer past and suppressed by the presbyterian Clergie, as if none but they could finde it out. In his epistle to Euagrius, *Alexandriæ* inquit, *a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclium & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum ad tollenda schismata Episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus Imperatorem faciat.* At Alexandria from Saint Marke the Euangelist vntill Heraclius and Dionisius Bishops. The Presbyters did still choose one of themselues to bee aboue them for auoyding of schismes, whom they called Bishop, euen as if an armie should create an Emperour. Againe in the preamble of his Commentaries vpon Matthew he saith, that Marke was the first Bishop of Alexandria, that he dyed in the times of the Apostles the seuenth yeare of Nero, he doth testifie in his Catalogue, *Suvit ecclesiast.* that which is true, that Ananias succeeded him, therefore it must follow of his owne words, that he was chosen by them, *quasi modo si exercitus Imperatorem faciat*, as an armie did create an Emperour. Thirdly, in an other place most plainly *Totius Ecclesiæ (inquit) & Sacerdotis dignitate pendere, cui si non esset, & ab omnibus æquo iure potestas tot in Ecclesia efficerentur schismata quot Sacerdotes*, saith he The Churches prosperitie doth depend vpon the dignitie of the chiefe Priest, or Bishop of the Church, who if hee haue not granted vnto him a free power aboue the rest, there would be as many schismes as Priests within the Church, so that Ierom must confesse that Marke and Anianus at Alexandria, and Euodius and Ignatius at Antioch were constituted by the ordinance of our Saviour, or then that the Apostles did institute contrary to the minde of Christ, which is absurd to hold. But lastly, the conclusion of that epistle, as I haue already related, doth reserue the Ecclesiasticall politie, and the

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the Iewish Church, in which speeches first and last of Ierom, we doe not onely obserue the great benefit redounding to the Church by Bishops, and the end why they were created, for vnitie and auoyding of schismes, but we doe in like manner marke the antiquitie of that policie, from S. Marke, and the authoritie and power thereof, as if an Armie should choose an Emperour saith hee, and the succession thereof to Dionisius, and lastly the vniuersalitie thereof, *Decretum erat in toto orbe terrarum*, saith hee, It was decreed throughout the whole world, wherevpon hee hath concluded, that the weale of the Church doth depend, *à Summi Sacerdotis dignitate*, from the worth of the Bishop.

After that some of the inferiour Clerkes, who did assist the informall election of Nouatian in the place of Cornelius, were againe reduced vnto the Catholike Church, their penitence was declared in these words, *We are not ignorant, that there is one God, one Christ, one holy Ghost, one Bishop into one Church.* whereby wee see that vnitie was the end of Episcopall institution. When Constantine at the instance of the deuout Matrons of Rome, licenced Liberius to returne, but withall appointed that Church gouernment to bee common betwixt him and Felix. The faithfull people deriding that ordinance of the Arrian Emperour, cryed aloud, as Theodore writeth, one God, one Church, one Bishop. So that antiquitie doth euer ascribe the benefit of vnitie in the Church vnto that apostolicall and ancient policie.

Thirdly, for testimonies for the succession of the Bishops in the Church, from the Apostles hitherto there be so many, that for a short rehearsall one knoweth not what to choose. Against the Bishopricks of Titus and Timothie many things bee idly pretended, which are plainly discussed by those Theologues, who haue expressly handled this question, but against those who doe alledge that they remained not at Ephesus and Crete numbers of Authors beare witnesse, *Dorotheus in Synops. Soph:*

Soph: in Catal: in tot: Isidorus de vita & morte Sanctorum, vincent, li. 10. cap. 28. Anthonius ex Policrate, Part. titul. 6. cap. 28. Nicephor. 10. cap. 11. who all report that they liued and died, the one at *Ephesus*, and the other at *Creta*. And as they were ordained by the Apostles: so were diuerse others institute Bishops in diuerse places. *Eusebius* witnesseth that about the yeere, 45. *Euodius* was created by the Apostle *Peter*, and *Paul* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Ignatius* who succeeded him in the Apostles time doth witnesse, that *Peter* and *Paul* ordained *Linus* Bishop of Rome, *An.* 56. whom *Anacletus* succeeded, & after him *Clemens* obserued by *Irenæus* and *Eusebius*, By the appointment of Saint *Peter*, *Marke* was first Bishop of *Alexandria*. To whom *Anianus*, *Abilius*, & *Cerdo*, all in the Apostles times witnesseth by *Nicepho. Gregory*, *Ierome*, That *Iames* the iust was Bishop of Ierusalem, institute by the Apostles immediately after the passion of our Sauiour: *Ierome* doth affirme it, *Catalog. scrip. Eccles.* *Eusebius* bringeth the most ancient testimonies of the Church for the same. That to *Iames* the brother of our Lord surnamed the iust, the throne Episcopall of Ierusalem was committed. In particular hee bringeth *Clemens*, *Alexandrinus* testifying, that *Iames*, *Peter* and *Iohn*, did chuse *Iames the iust*, Bishop of Ierusalem after the Ascension: and *Higesippus*, whom *Ierome* and *Eusebius* affirme to be of the first successours of the Apostles, doe hold the same of *Iames*. *Eusebius* in his History giueth a Catalogue of 37. Bishops in Ierusalem, betweene *Iames* and *Macarius*. The same is testified by *Ambrose*, and *Augustine*: yea and all the general Councel of Constantinople, whose records proue that *Iames* was the first Bishop, to whom the Chayre of Ierusalem was trusted.

Christi anno 48. *li.* 3. *Irenæus li.* 3. *Ierom. lib.* 14. 6. *Li.* 2. *cap.* 24. *Prom. in Mat. li.* 2. *ca.* 19. *Euseb. li.* 7. 19. *Euseb li.* 3. *hist.* 4. 5. 6. 7. *Amb. in Gallat.*

Now if any would say, that these were Bishops but of one Church, if there was but one in Crete, how was it said, *Opidatim constituet sicut ego ti:* *Irenæus* counted among the first of the primitiue writers, speaking of the Church of Rome, saith that the holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, the foun-

foundators thereof, *Tradiderunt Lino potestatem administrandi totius Ecclesiæ*, That as the numbers of Christians did increase at Rome, they were diuided in seuerall paroches, vnder seuerall Presbyters by *Euaristus* Bishop of Rome, which againe were augmented, the Churches I meane, by *Higinus* in the yeere 138 as Platina and Onuphrius doe testifie, *de Episcopat. & titul.* and *Eusebius* in his sixt Booke *cap.* 3. doth affirme that vnder *Cornelius* Bishop and Martyr in the yeere 250. there was in the Church of Rome, 46. Presbyters, 7. Deacons, 100. other Clergy men, and but one *Bishop*. But of this point there is a cleere and manifest example, and most free from controuersie of the seuen Churches of Asia, ouer which was appointed the seuen Angels as Bishops, confessed by Doctour *Beza* himselfe, one also of your pretended Patrons: calling the Angell of the Church of *Ephesus* Τὸν ἐπίσκοπον. the Prelate or gouernour *Antistitem*, saith hee, *vt vocat Iustinus*: Of these Churches I say, that euery one comprehended in circuite both City and Country Churches, and euery one of them had but one Angell or Bishop: As *Polycarp* at Smyrna was Bishop 13. yeeres before the Reuelation was deliuered, as is obserued by *Bullingerus* in Apocal. and hee died a glorious Martyr, as *Eusebius* prooueth in his 4. Booke, *cap.* 15. by an Epistle of the *Smyrnæi* and *Onesimus*, Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus*, testifieth by *Ignatius ad Epiphanium* and *Ignatius* himselfe was at Antioch. *Epiphanius* doth testifie that the Church of *Alexandria* had besides the Church called *Cæsarea*, which was burned in *Iulian* his time and reedified by *Athanasius*, it had also that Church of *Dionisius*, that of *Thomas*, that of *Pierius*, that of *Serapion*, of *Maximus*, of *Ammianus*, of *Bucalis* and *Abias*, and that in one of those *Collutus* was a Presbyter, and in one *Carpones*, in an other *Sarmatas*, and *Arrius* a Presbyter in one. *Aps* large testimonies haue wee of those of *Asia*, that *Ephesus* was a great Metropolis hauing a large Countrey subiect to it. That

Per-

Pergamus was a famous City, sometimes the seat of the Church of *Asia*, that *Smyrna*, *Sardis*, *Laodicia*, *Philadelphia*, were great and mother Cities, hauing within them many Churches. *Ignatius* to the *Smyrnenses*, *Reuerimini inquit Episcopum*: Reuerence your Bishop, saith hee, as Christ and his Apostles doe command, and in his Epistle *ad Trallianos*, what is a Bishop saith he, but one, *Qui principatum & potestatem super omnes obtinet*, who hath power aboue the rest, and what are Presbyters, saith he, *Sed Collegium sacrum, Conciliarij & Coassessores*, and in his Epistle *ad Magnetianos*: As Christ saith he, doth nothing without the Father, so must not the Presbyters, or Deacons, doe any thing without their Bishops, *Aliter iniquum est & Deo odiosum*, otherwise it is iniquity and odious to God. *Cyprian* who was the most indulgent Bishop we read of to his Presbyters, and the most modest Prelate: In the fift Epistle of his second Booke touching one *Aurelius*, whom he did ordinate, but aduice of the Church Clergy. Wee vse deare brother, to deliberate with you before, and to weigh the manners and merits of men by your concurrence: but wee need not to looke for the testimonies of men, *Cum præcedat diuina suffragia*, when wee are strengthened by diuine suffrages. Like to this againe we find of him in his ordination of one *Numidicus*, in the tenth Epistle of his fourth Booke. Brethren, saith he, I aduertise you that *Numidicus* by diuine inspiration is adioyned to the number of our Carthagine Presbyters, and that hee doth sit with vs among the Clergy: and what hath beene done by *Cyprian* we read not where it was retracted by any, which I doe not put downe heere: yet any Bishop should delight to imitate this kinde of rule, but onely to shew what doth in cure appertaine to the person of a Bishop, and the weight of his authority, as the same *Cyprian* doth testifie in the 27. Epistle, *Inde per temporum & successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio, & Ecclesiæ Ratio decurrit, vt super Episcopos Ecclesiam constituatur, Et omnis*

altius Ecclesiæ per ipsos gubernetur. So hath it fallen out, saith hee, by length of time, that the order of Bishops, and the condition of Ecclesiasticall rule is such that it doth altogether rest with them, and euery act thereof appertaine to them.

Now because I intend not to bee tedious in this discourse, therefore you are to marke how of all these ancients, I haue chosen out three, whose testimonies and opinions in the question of Bishops, is to bee esteemed most sincere for the reason following. Of all the Bishops of Antiquity, *Cyprian* was the most fauourable, and most affected to his Presbyters, and in his carriage more like to a Compresbyter then a Prelate. Of all the Bishoppes of Antiquity whose writings are extant in the Church, *Ignatius* is most ancient, and hath drawne his knowledge out of the pure fountaines of Apostolicall wisedome, and not from the riuers as his fellowes haue done: Of all the Doctours of Antiquity, *Ierome* is most sought to, by the Presbyterians: The Councell of *Sardica*, *cap.* 10. 13. hath decreed that if a rich man by meanes of Court come to bee a Bishop, hee shall first performe the office of a Reader, Deacon and Presbyter, that by degrees hee may ascend to the height of a Bishopricke. *Nazianzene* giueth testimony of *Athanasius* and *Basil*, that they ascended into Episcopall dignity by the spirituall Law, through all the degrees of Ecclesiasticall offices. The Councell of *Antioch*, that whatsoeuer things appertaine vnto the Church are to bee gouerned by the authority of the Bishop by whom say they people are instructed. The Councell of *Calcedon* decreed that none should build a Cloyster, or Monastery, without the consent of the Bishop of the City, and that all Monasticall persons should bee subiect to the Bishop. And if we should search all the Doctours, Fathers, and Councells, wee should finde that Episcopall policy accompanied with a cleere consent of all Catholike antiquitie to applaud it. So farre that for the first thousand

yeeres

yeeres of the Church no man hath beene knowen to denie or decline it, but onely *Arrius* who was therefore compted an Heretike by *Augustine* in his Catalogue of heresies, and by *Epiphanius* also, which hath not beene rashly, nor with repentance affirmed by *Augustine*, as some hold, for it was written after his retractation, and after his writing of 230. Bookes besides his Epistles and Homilies, He saith in his preface, that it is hard to giue an accurate definition of an Hereticke, he reckoneth vp 53. heresies which after Christs ascension were contrary to his doctrine, giuing the last place to that of *Arrius*: And concluding in the end of all, *Omnis itaque Christianus Catholicus ista non debet credere.* Euery Christian Catholike ought not therfore to beleeue them. The Coūcell of Nice hauing decreed that the Catharists or Nouatians or a sort of sublimitated Puritans of these daies returned to penitence vnto the Church, those who had brooked any dignity of before, should be repossessed of any office whatsoeuer in the Church, except it were to displace a Bishop, which should not bee lawfull to him who hath beene a Nouatian Bishop. But hee should content himselfe to be a Priest, vnlesse the Bishop would receiue him to be a Coadiutor, or communicate to him the honour of the name, or if hee like him not to finde him a Choro-Episcopat or Presbyterat, To the end as *Russinus* sayes, *Ne in vna Ciuitate duo sint Episcopi*, that there should not be two Bishops in one City: *Augustine* being ignorant of this when he was drawen from Nauationisme to bee Bishop of Hippona, while yet *Valerius* liued, because of his great woorth, when *Augustine* himselfe became old, and nominated *Euodius* to be his Successour, and had chosen him himselfe to be his Coadiutor, yet hee held it vnlawfull during his owne life to ordinate him Bishop, when *Valerius* ordained me Bishop, said he, we were both ignorant of the decree of the Connsell of Nice, but what was reprehended in me, shall not be blamed in my Successour, as *Possidon*: hath it, *Quod sibi factum esse doluit alijt*

Concilium Nicen. cap. 8.

fieri nolait. So did this holy man reuerence that ordinance of Nice in fauours of orthodoxall Bishops, neither shall we find through all ancient Counsels or Fathers one, who hath not done the like, reposing still the glory of the Church vpon the authority of Bishops, according to that which *Dauid* did foresee in his Prophetical spirit, saying in his 45. Psalme, Insteed of Fathers children shall be borne vnto thee, whom thou shalt make Princes in all the earth, which word *Augustine* doth interprete insteed of Apostolos, who were thy fathers. O Catholike Church sonnes who are Bishops are created vnto thee, therefore thinke not thy selfe forsaken because thou seest not *Peter* nor *Paul* who begat thee: *Agnoscant qui precisi sunt, veniant ad vnitatem*, Let them (saith hee) who are Opiniators and Schismatiks acknowledge those sonnes who be borne to the Church to be her Princes ouer all the Earth.

The like exposition *Ierom* the pretended Patron of Presbyters, maketh vpon the words of *Esay* in the 17. verse of the 60. chapter, according to the *Septuagint*, speaking to the future estate of the Church, through a Reuelation. I will giue thy Princes in peace, and thy Bishops in righteousnesse, whereon *Ierome*; Heerein saith hee) the Maiesty of the holy Scripture is to be admired, who calleth *futuros Ecclesiæ Episcopos*, The Princes and Rulers that were to be of the Church, Bishops whose visitation is all in peace, and the name of their dignity all in righteousnesse (saith he) So that we finde an excesse of honor and dignity, which from Primitiue and ancient times hath beene yeelded to this vertuous Prelacie in the Church.

Doth not *Tertullian* who liued in the first 200. yeeres write this of Bishops, not onely yeelding vnto them poynts of preeminence and iurisdiction: but speaking of the celebration of the Sacrament, The Bishop (saith hee) hath the right to minister Baptisme, and then the Presbyters and Deacons, but not without the authoritie

of

of the Bishop for the honour of the Church, which being safe, peace is safe. In regard of which Catholike and constant testimonies from time to time, what shall wee say? shall we not for once thinke it impossible, that the successours of the Apostles, all the holy Fathers, so many Martyrs and Saints would haue abolished that gouernment whatsoeuer which Christ and his Apostles left vnto the Church, for the next shall we not hold it impossible to fall out, that any policie which was not receiued from the Apostles could be at one time embraced of the whole Christian world, and approoued of all generall counsels in the Primitiue Church. For the last shall we not thinke it a scorne beyond all scornes, that all those antiquities and Apostolicall traditions witnessed by Apostolicall men, generall counsels, Fathers, Doctours, Catholike consent without interruption, must bee condemned for follies, schismes, corruptions, by some pure and *Heteroclite* braines, who haue start vp more then 1500. yeeres after, to impugne the credit of the Church Gouernment, qualified by so many diuine men whose faith was tried in the fire of affliction, and who sealed their profession with glorious Martyrdome. Certainely if it must be so, we may say that the true light hath endured a miraculous ecclipse, and that great knowledge hath beene long reserued to bee at length vouchsafed to the Allobrogicall Doctours.

CHAP. XI.

The opinion of the Archi-Reformatours concerning Church-Policie.

FInally to conclude this point of the Church-Policy, I come to shew what haue beene the opinions of Protoreformatours concerning the same. In the Augustine confession which is the first publike Protestant act wherein

in wee can obserue it, this Article is contained, wee haue oft, say they, out of our great desires protested to obserue the Ecclesiasticall policie in all degrees as it is canonicall in the Chruch, and to reuerence the authority of Bishops, prouiding they doe not force vs to any thing contrary to Gods word, which protestation shall excuse vs to all posterity, that the ouerthrow of the ancient policie be not imputed to vs, say they: which confession *Caluine* among others did soone thereafter subscribe. *Melanthon* to *Martin Luther*. *Non tradit quanto sum in odio Noricis & aliis*. You will not beleeue (saith he) how I am hated of the Norricians and others; Alwayes it is not well that men should so abhorre the restauration of Bishops: for I know not with what a face wee can refuse them: If they will permit vs to haue purity of doctrine. And I doe feare that Episcopall authority being dissolued, wee shall haue more intollerable Tyranny in the place thereof, saith he; And in another place which was not written to *Luther*, *Et mecum semper sensit Lutherus*, And *Luther* did euer iudge with me, who saith he, knew himselfe to bee the more loued of men, because by his meanes Bishops had beene cast out and themselues set at liberty, which shall be dangerous for the posterity; for what state of Church shall we haue when the ancient policie shaken off, there shall bee no certaine Rulers, saith *Melanthon*, which solid iudgement *Camerarius* doth praise in these words, *Quod reclamantibus multis ille hoc suadebat non modo ad stipulatore sed auctore* Luthero, *vt restituerentur Episcopi si vsum pura doctrina permitterent*, that against many he did not onely by *Luthers* consent, but by his direction perswade the Restitution of Bishops if they will grant the purity of doctrine. In another little treatise of these times entituled *Articuli Protestantium de vnitate Ecclesia. Gradus illos plures Episcoporum, Archiepiscoporum, Patriarcharum, viles esse existimamus ad Ecclesiæ salutem si ij qui presunt faciunt officium*, all these degrees of Ecclesiasticall policie are profitable for the Church,

Hist. confess. August. per Cluir.

Hist. confess. August. pa. 389.

Church, prouiding Prelates discharge their dutie. *Bucer de vi & vsu ministerij* saith thus. Therefore these orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons established in the beginning by the holy spirit, when Churches begun to be multiplyed they did ordaine to euery Prouince their owne Metropolitan. And againe thereafter to shew how he thought it a diuine ordinance, he saith, as the people were more and more frequent in Metropolitan Cities, *Ita dabat Dominus vt haberent ampliores Episcopos illa Ecclesia*, so did God ordaine greater Bishops to those Churches. *Hemingius* is of that same opinion, and both of them doe blame that wrested sense of *Ierom*, aforesaid, saying that howsoeuer it might bee so while Churches were not perfectly constituted, yet all the other Fathers were against him fr ô thence forth, & he contented to acknowledge his error, as you haue heard. *Philip Hebronerus* a great Protestant Theologue, hauing mooued the question touching these degrees Ecclesiastical; hee answereth in fauour of them, because the Apostles doe mention them in the first place, the Presbyter in the next, and the Deacon in the last, saith he, who is more famous among vs, as I haue said, then the venerable and learned *Zanchius*, who hath left vs a long discourse of Episcopall gouernment in the Church, which were too long to relate heere; and is to be found in his obseruations 25. *in titulo* 38. *de Disciplina clericali*; beginning thus: *Tertia pars disciplina clericalis est ea qua gradus infimi subijciuntur superioribus*, and it is most plaine of any for Bishops, as may bee perceiued also by those his following speeches in the historie of the Augustine confession. *My faith* (saith he) *doth absolutely rest vpon the simple word of God: next vpon the common consent of the ancient Catholike Church, if it is not repugnant to the holy Scripture, for whatsoeuer hath been decreed by those holy Fathers assembled in generall Councells in the name of God, if it doe not contradict his word, that I take to flow from the holy Ghost, albeit I doe not account it in the same*

Loci communes epist. ad Timoth. & Titum.

degree with the written word, and seeing it is most euident by all the writts of the ancient Fathers, that Bishops and these other orders haue been allowed in the Church, Quis ego sum: *who am I* (saith he) *who should take vpon me to impugne that which the holy Catholike Church hath approued. Neither durst the most learned of our time disproue them, because they were instituted for good ends, and for edification of Gods people. Besides I haue respect to these reformed Churches, who hauing embraced the Euangell, doe yet retaine the order of Bishops in name & authoritie* (meaning the Lutherians) *And looking to the Protestant Churches I finde they haue their Bishops and Archbishops vnder changed names of Superintendants, and generall Superintendants, and where neither the old good Greeke names, of Episcopus and Archiepiscopus, nor these new ill Latine names of Superintendant, and generall Superintendent be acknowledged. Notwithstanding I see their* (meaning of Presbyterians) *chiefe men who take vpon them all the authoritie, where therefore these be maintayned and Bishops refused, it is but a controuersie for names, for when wee agree as wee doe vpon the thing it selfe, why should we striue about the name?* Thus farre *Zanchius.* Wherein wee see that he doth acknowledge that distinction mentioned by me in the beginning of this Article, of that which is directly diuine as the word, and that which is *diuini Iuris*, as the Policie both being of like veritie, but not of like authoritie, necessitie, and perpetuitie.

This sound iudgement of *Zanchius* is so truly, naturally, and holily conceiued, that euen the latest and most peremptorie Reformators since, be forced to haue the same opinion, and to follow the same practise. *Calvin* speaking of the primitiue church before the intrusion of Poperie, during all which time, saith he, the Church gouernment hath nothing almost dissonant from Gods worde. For the Presbyters who had the charge of doctrine, did chuse one among them selues vnder the stile of a Bishop, *ne vt fieri solet, dissidia nascerentur ex equalitate,*

tate, that dissension should not arise of æqualitie, as commonly it doth, saith he. And in his Epistle to Cardinall Sadolett he is contented to obey a Bishop, prouiding he be reformed in doctrine, *Talem nobis Hierarchiam si dederint qua à Christo tanquam vnico capite pendeat.* The opinion of *Beza* concerning the Church of England I haue told already, then for their practise, it is manifest that all the Gouernours of the Church of *Geneua* since the Bishop was elected, haue wished by all meanes to replant that authoritie, but could not, for the State being altogether changed in a popular gouernment, by repining from the Bishop, who was also their chiefe head, it was so farre from receiuing any image of Soueraignte either spirituall or temporall: that *Caluin* being altogether out of hope to get a Presbyterie established of Ministers alone, was contented to compose a mixed Presbyterie, of six *Ministerij*, and twelue *Ciues*, alwayes while he liued he was perpetuall President in effect of the Ecclesiasticall *Senate*, differing onely in name from a Bishop, which name and authoritie both hee could haue sustayned in his person, if the State had vrged him, seing hee was contented himselfe to obey a reformed Bishop. *Beza* likewise during ten or twelue yeares, carried the same authoritie, they did both, rule ouer their brethren as a Primate ouer his Corepiscopi, or a Bishop ouer his Compresbyter, euen as *Zanchius* hath said. And how many Christian Pastors of remote Nations did in all those times depend from their Oracles, as Presbyters vnder Bishops? If any man will say it was the merit of the men, & no ordination of the Church, I answer if it was so, it is all one to beare authoritie, whether colourably or openly, onely heere is the difference, that lawfull authoritie is better then that which men doe arrogate without warrant, and it is better to endure a lawfull Bishop then an vsurping Brother; but to neither of these two doe I ascribe any disorder, they were wise, learned, and diuine men, who did comport with the policie of the

time *Iuuia Minerua*, as wee say, of neceſſitie. For euen *Beza* finding things yet to goe farder from the Epiſcopall rule, by the comming thither of *Danæus*, he did vehemently regrate it to his familiars. And I say that *Authon: Faius*, who is now *Arch-Presbyter* there, is as wiſe in that kind, as any of his Predeceſſors, for I know it by experience to be ſo. It may be indeed ſaid, that the Church of *Geneua* is yet in puritie without faction, but who doth not ſee the reaſon of it, becauſe it is *parua Reſpublica*, a ſmall Common-wealth, eaſily ruled, where the Presbyteriall Clergie is not aboue the number of eighteen, counting both Paſtors and Doctors, but if it were populous and groſſe, or if diuiſion ſhould fall in that which is, might it not come to paſſe among them, as it hath done to others in the like, that for want of a ſpirituall head, the Ciuill Magiſtrate behooued to interpoſe his authoritie, and perhaps ioyne him ſelfe to the wrong ſide, as ſundry Romane Emperours haue done in ſuch things, according as Eccleſiaſticall Stories doe record.

And what was the doing of our owne Reformator *Iohn Knox*, and of all thoſe who were wiſe Reformators, was it not like vnto the Romane wiſdome, who hauing caſt out their Kings, did in euery caſe of danger clothe themſelues with the abſolute authoritie of Dictators? Euen ſo did they after the expulſion of Biſhops exerciſe the ſame power, as *Zanchius* hath ſaid, vnder changed names, and euill Latine names, as he calls them, of Superintendents, and generall Superintendents, vntill by length of time as the ſtate of Rome was neuer ſtayed before it fell againe into the owne naturall center of Monarchie, *Naturam furca expellas licet, tamen recurret*. Euen ſo the Eccleſiaſticall policie, hath returned againe to the owne fountaine from whence it did flow. All which conſidered, I giue you my counſell who are Puritans, that you be not aſhamed to ſay with Zanchius, *Quis ego ſum &c.* who are you to oppoſe your ſelues againſt the rule

of

of God in nature, & in all her members against the rule of wisedome in the Ciuill state, of Oeconomie in families, of moralitie in one mans person, of God in the Architype of the Iewish Church: of the Apostles, the Primitiue Church and all antiquitie following thereupon, I giue you my Counsell to vnderstand the mysterie of time, and the nature of reformation, which is not compassed vpon the suddaine but with length of time, euen as corruption growes with time.

We see in the old Law the Priesthood was one thing, and the Priestly transgressions an other: what did *Manasses*, what did *Ahas*? and other kings of Iudah? How did *Vzzah* the Priest, and diuers others concurre with the impiety of their kings to defile the house of God with Idolatrie, we may see it in the booke of the *Kings*, and *Paralyp.*: did God therefore take away from the people the Priesthood? no, it was oft times prophaned, but neuer abolished, yea before the Lord should take it away, hee did rather suffer both Priesthood and Principautie to be confounded in one person, as is said before: why should you then maliciously transgresse against so many examples, to contemne Episcopall regiment, because the Papall tyrannie hath prophaned it? why doe you search argumens for diuision, and not for vnity? It is no Christian part out of the sixteene Archbishops of Antioch, to obiect alone, *Paulus Samositanus*, who abused his authority to pride & heresie: would you thinke the like aduantage good against the Apostles to speake of *Iudas* out of multitudes of Bishops you haue chosen a few of the most insolent and wicked to be of your side, marking the disorders of *Theoph. Alexandrinus, Valens, Vrsatius, Nestorius, Macedon. Phoc.* What would you answere to these, who would deale so with your selues, among hundreths of the like entercourses of your policie, to obiect but two, your great feast day holden at Edenburgh, which made the seuenteenth of December so famous, and again, your caryage after the treason of *Gowrie* at Perth, where the

Lord God stood miraculously for the life of your most Gratious Prince, and that for greater causes (as you haue seene) then were reuealed at that time, and no doubt for greater ends then you doe yet see: what can you answere to the bad behauiour of some brethren, who durst challenge such a king, his Maiesties reputation and fame, and bring it in question before his people, which things I mentioned heere out of my true affection to your reformation: because the Physicians say, *Nulla medicamenta magis sunt salutifera quam ea qua dolorem pariunt*, There is no medicine more powerfull then that which breedeth dolor to the patient, why doe you not therefore ouerpasse your malitious caption of mens faults, to looke vpon the benefite which doth depend from lawfull policie: why doe you not remember that the Archiepiscopall authority hath serued to represse the Arrian heresie, the most mighty opposition that euer hath beene in Gods Church: why do you not remember that *Samositanus* was more times in parting from the troth, and more corrigiable thereafter as is said, then *Manichæus*, *Marcion*, *Arrius*, *Pelagius*, and other Heresiarches who were but Presbyters: why doe you not call to memorie the holy and reuerend names of *Gregor. Nazianz. Basil. Niceu. Athanas. Chrysost. Cyprian. Ignat. Polycarp. Iren. Ambros. August.* Whose persons were not so remote from this age of ours as the sincerity of their Christian and Catholike gouernement in the Church was different for the present rule of the Romane Bishops. And notwithstanding of the corruption which is this day pregnant in the world, and which you doe so much perill to fall in the state of Bishops, by diuoluing of that charge in great & noble personages, more through the fauour of Princes, then for their Merit as you say, yet doe but looke a litle vpon the worthy Prelates which haue bin in the Church of England, stil since the reformation thereof, and who be presently, whom you shall see all to be ordinarily taken out of the prime men of the Vniuersities,

ſtries, and neuer brought from the Court to that dignity, doe witneſſe in ſpeciall thoſe graue and moſt Reuerend diuines, the Archb: now of Canterbury, the Biſhops of London, Elie and Bathe, more ſhining lights then whom the Church of God hath not within nor without the kingdome, which I in ſpecial may affirme, who haue heard ſome of their vertuous names remembred with honor by their chiefeſt enemies in Chriſtendome, a cleerer marke then which cannot be of mens worth. I ſay no more, but God of his mercy grant that our moſt vpright Chriſtian Miniſters, may follow their example, in true paſtorall vigilance and ſincerity, out of thoſe mirrours, let vs reuerence this beginnings which we ſee of our reformation, that by our zeale and loue, to peace and vnitie, God may be moued to ouerthrow that beaſt of Rome, and to plant againe his holy ſpirit in it, to diſſolue the Papall tyranny, & to reduce it to the ancient & regular limits of Patriarchall degree, If this Counſell be contrary to your Theologie, then learne it from nature, That Princes and Prelates are the Superiour Orbes that moue you, and therefore that no motion muſt be within the peculiar Spheare of your Paſtorall diſcharge, to make you diſobey their motions, and if you cannot neither doe this out of a good inſtinct of nature, like the celeſtiall Planets, whoſe proper mouements doe neuer hinder them to obey and follow their *Primum Mobile*. Then for the laſt, make it a good and neceſſarie policie to imitate that Gooſe, who knowing her owne imperfection, prouides for thoſe euils which might fall vpon her in perilous places, through too much noiſe, and ſo to ſaue her ſelfe from the Eagles which frequent the top of mount Taurus, as ſhe flieth along it, ſhe keepeth a lowe courſe, and carrieth a ſtone in her beake to reſtraine her ordinarie cry: Princes and Prelates *tanquam aues ſolares* are like the celeſtiall Eagles which goe neereſt to the ſunne, they receiue the immediate inſpiration and deputation of God to rule the inferiour world, they are placed in the moun-

mountaine of gouernment, so that you must take heede, that you doe not concitate them by your disordered clamours.

What ought to be the temperate gouernment of Bishops.

Now hauing said thus farre in fauours of the Episcopall authoritie, to the effect that you may see how I intend heere to serue God and not man, I will also lawfully speake of that which ought to be the vpright and Christian duety of Bishops: They are to remember that it is the fault of rulers which often times giueth distaste to people of lawfull authorities, as the tyranny of Rome hath made the Primatiue and Orthodoxall gouernment of Christes Church to be abhorred: it is the wisedome and modestie of their carriage which must cast a good smell in the nose of the multitude, the Popular is like to a dead Ocean, which hath no motion of it selfe, but from aboue, from the influence of the Moone, or from the agitation of the aire: Bishops are the Spheares placed aboue them to giue them influence, and the Planets which should minister light vnto them. So that they are to learne the temperament of their gouernment from the sunne, the chiefe of Planets, which if it should still keep the altitude or summer solstice: howsoeuer the glory and force thereof should be that way more perceiued, yet no man, nor beast could endure the vehemence of that heate, in such manner, that for the benefit of inferiour Creatures which be nourished by it, it followes as we see an oblique & temperate course betwixt the Tropicks of Cancer and Capricorne. They are to learne the artes of their gouernment from God himselfe, who albeit hee haue both absolute and infinite power, that he could of the stones of the earth raise vp seede to Abraham, and bring any thing to passe suddainely, and in a moment in the generation of whatsoeuer his creatures, yet for the maintenance of their order and policie, he doth adioyne vnto his working the ordinarie concurrence of second and inferiour causes, making things to goe on by naturall and mutuall meanes: they are to follow the example of

Moses

Moses in the Iewish rule of Gods people, nor as the Presbyterians doe, following the Archi-type for the Laicke Elders, and refusing it for the Prelacy, they must not onely imitate the Moysaicall, where it serueth to establish their power: but also in that which Saint *Ieroms* doth record of *Moses*, *Qui cum solus praesse populo haberet in potestate*: who hauing in his will to be onely ouer the people, yet hee did adioyne vnto him seuenty to assist him: among the most ancient Canons which be Catholike, this is reckoned with the formost, *Episcopos singularum Gentium scire oportet qui inter eos primus sit, qui habeatur Caput, prater cuius Sententiam nihil agant, sed nec ille praeter illorum sententiam faciat.* The Bishops of all Nations must vnderstand, that hee who in his owne iurisdiction is head ouer the rest, without whose authoritie they can doe nothing, neither hee shall proceed, but by their concurrence and aduise, *Sic enim vnanimitas erit, & Deus glorificabitur*, saith he, by that meanes *Vnanimitie* shall be kept, and God shall be glorified. *Ignatius* the most ancient of the Fathers, hath called the Presbyters, Counsellours, and Consistours: *Cyprian* followed this temperate rule; *Ambrose* also doth teach the same. For this sort of gouernment, doth much ease them in their discharge, and nothing derogate from their authority: for who will say that a temperate Monarch who followeth his graue Counsell doeth thereby lessen his power, but hee is the more aduised. The excellent vertues of the Episcopall function are knowne by the excellent stiles giuen vnto it, by the Spirit of GOD in the Apocalips, they are called Angells and *Starres*: *Constantine* did call them *Gods* in his time, and seeing they get celestiall stiles, they must also imitate the heauens, to bee the chiefe *Preachers* of Gods glory, *Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei* saith the Prophet *Dauid*. These bee the properties of the heauens which also ought to be in them; bodies most subtile, most high, most lucid, most cleane, most perfectly ordered, most round, they doe

Epistola ad Trallianos.

Psal. 18.

euer moue, euer giue life and light vnto infinite creatures. First, they must bee subtile in solide knowledge of holy scriptures, *Quia tu Scientiam repulisti repellam te ego*, Hos. 4. *ne Sacerdotio fungaris mihi*, saith the Lord, Because thou reiectest knowledge, I shall reiect thee from the Priesthood: They must bee highin the vertuous shew of their life, *Tantum gregem præcellit sanctitas præsulis quantum ones superat vita Pastoris*, The sanctity of a Prelate should as farre excell that of his flocke, as the life of a Pastor is more worth then a sheepe. In the vertue specially of charitable frugality they should shine, Eccles. 31. *Splendidum in panibus benedicent labia multorum. In nequissimo pane murmurabit ciuitas.* [The mouthes of many shall blesse him who is liberall of his bread, and the City shall murmure against him who doth it not, and they shall call his wretched conquest, *Panem nequissimum*, A knauish bread. If a Bishop study to bee rich hee is neither Starre nor Angell, nor no matter heauenly, *Si terram cogitat terrenus est*, If a mans minde be muddy, hee is mudde himselfe, riches are indeed a blessing of God: but wee finde seldome mention in the Scripture of a rich man in good termes, but with hard title, *Salomon* saith, *Alia infirmitas sub sole, Diuitiæ conseruatæ in malum Domini*: Riches heaped vp for the mischiefe of their Master, and the Euangelist speaking of a rich man, *Mortuus est Diues & sepultus in Inferno.* The rich man died and was buried in Hell. Againe, our Sauiour saith, It is as impossible for a rich man to enter into heauen, as for a Camell to passe therow the eye of a needle: and the holy Spirit speaking by Saint *Iohn* in the second of the Apocalips to the Angell, or Bishop of *Laodicea*, *Dicis, quia Diues sum & nullius egeo, & nescis quia miser pauper, cæcus, & nudus*: Thou sayest thou art rich and needest nothing, & beholdest not, thou art miserable, poor, blinde & naked, Wherby wee see that earthly desires in a Bishop be wretched nakednesse, *terra inanis erat & vacua*, saith the Scripture, The earth was empty and barren, & so be all the Prelates who,

who delight in riches and earthly pleasures. Againe, Bishops must resemble the heauens being cleane in their very hearts, they must not say, *Placet quicquid libet*, That very thing doth please them which is lawfull, but they must forbeare many pleasures lawfull to others, that being cleane they may cleanse others? *Non valet tergere sordes manus quæ intus tenet*. The hand which is spotted with clay it cannot purge filthinesse. They must be well and perfectly ordered in their behauiours, hauing them seasoned with wisedome and discretion, as Christ saith to his Apostles, *habete in vobis salem*, That they should haue salt, whereof, we see if there be too much in meat it makes it bitter, if too little vnsauoury, if a discreet measure, it makes it pleasant and delicate to the Taste: they must be round as the heauens, we know that a circle is *figura capacissima, & simplicissima*, a most simple and capable figure: which hath no Angle, crooke, point, nor diuision: shewing how euill lasinesse, reth, duplicity, or crooked wayes become a Prelate: Finally, they must still moue as the heauens doe, going from vertue to vertue, from good to better, for the common good of those who be vnder them. Woe were vnto the inferiour world if the Celestiall spheares should intermit their course and stand still, euen as the round wheele when it beginneth to stand presently it goeth backe: so, *In via Domini non progredi regredi est*, not to goe forward in the way of the Lord is to goe backward: because in that circular and continuall motion which should be in pastorall piety, there is no station nor repose, *Hæc sunt iniquitates Sodomæ abundantia & otium*: Therefore finally they must like vnto the heauens, make continuall influxion of life and light in the inferiour members of Christ Church, seeing it hath pleased God to let vnto them his Vineyard, they are to remember the saying of our Sauiour, *Omnis arbor quæ non facit fructum bonum excidetur, & in ignem mittetur*, Euery tree which brings not forth good fruit, shall be cut downe and cast into the

fire: It is neither the blossome, the flower, nor the leafe, which will please God; but the fruit, neither shewes of piety, nor learned preachings, but the edification of Christian soules, will content God, *Exemplum dedi vobis vt quemadmodum ego feci ita & vos faciatis*, saith Christ, I haue giuen you example that as I haue done, so might you doe. The first *Adam* did feed vpon the fruits of the trees in Paradise, but the second *Adam* vpon the fruits of his Saints, who are the mysticall trees of this Vineyard, as may be marked out of that answere giuen to his Apostles, saying to him, *Rabbi manduca, ego habeo alium cibum manducare, quem vos nescitis.* I haue other meat to eat which you doe not knowe, and this was the fruits of the Garden of Israel euen then transplanted: for example, the conuersion of the Samaritan woman was his thirst, and vpon the Crosse he cryed, *sitio*, languishing for the like wing-grapes: seeing Bishops are the chiefest trees in the Vineyard, they must striue to produce the most excellent fruits of Christian vertues, specially that euery one of their actions bee witnesses of their humility. The tree the more it hath the roote humble and deepe in the earth, it makes the fairer fruit, the Prophet *Esay* doth affirme it, *Mittet radices deorsum, & faciet fructum sursum.* And the Wise-man saith, *Odibilis Deo & hominibus superbia*, Pride is hatefull to God and man. The Prelates be as is said before, the *head*, the *heart* and the stomacke of the spirituall body, which being in good and wholesome constitution, the members haue also their full vigour and strength: The Prophet *Ieremy* speaking of the reformation of the people, beginneth at the heads, *Si feceritis iudicium inter virum & proximum eius, aduenæ, viduæ, & pupillo*: If you will iudge betwixt a man and his neighbour iustly, and if you doe iustly to the stranger-widdow, and Orphane; Therfore if Prelates would haue people purged from those damnable vices of ambition, auarice, pride and Atheisme, they must keepe themselues reformed, summarily they

Esay 37.

Eccles. 24.

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may cast backe their eyes a little, to looke vpon the ruines of their Predecessours the late Bishops of Scotland, who because they fell away from vprightnesse and sincerity, and did abandon themselues to publike vices, the Lord did spew them out, *Malos male perdidit & fœnum vineam suam alijs*, he made the wicked to perish wickedly, and did let his Vine-yard to others.

CHAP. XI.

Why the Organs, Clericall Vestiments, and ancient Ceremonies which be vsed in the Church of England are againe to be receiued of vs in Scotland.

IT followes now for the happinesse of our domesticke vnion, to speake of the ceremonies of the Church of England, which, as they are no many in number that I will heere treate of, so they require no ouer long and tedious discourse: They are conuersant about our two principall sences, the one (as *Aristotle* calleth it) the sence of science and discipline, the eare. The other (as *Horace* sheweth) the conduit and inlet of the most deepe and firme impressions, our eyes; *Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus.* Vpon the first the admirable and diuine gifts of Musique doth worke; vpon the second the graue and Maiestique, yet plaine and sober habite of vestments: both haue three operations on vs; one naturall as we are men, & endewed with outward sentes, the vestiments to defend vs from the cold, the Musique to moone our sences to ioyfulnesse, or to sadnesse and contemplation, the second is a ciuill operation, as we are distinct members of a politicall and well ordered society, as wee see the vestiments doe shew the distinction of mens callings or degrees, and the Musique is a delight and ornament vsed by vs in feasts and publique triumphes. The third is a sacred and se-

De anima lib. 2.
sensus disciplinabilis.
De arte poetica.

queſtred proper application in the ſetting foorth and beautifying (within due and decent limits) the ſeruice of Almighty God. The firſt doth worke vpon us as men; the ſecond as wee are ciuill men, the third as wee are Chriſtian men.

Of Muſique I will ſpeake in the firſt place, preſuming that not onely when it is heard acting its owne part to the eare in harmonicall ſounds; but euen when the vertues and commendation thereof are made the ſubiect matter of proſaicall diſcourſe, preſenting the vigour and force thereof though but to the eye of the Reader, yet it will haue its wonted operation in ſweetly charming the affections of thoſe, who haue drunke in ſome preiudice againſt it, and diſtaſte of the vſe of it in *ſacris*, ſo that my Readers mind being ſet *in ſymbalis bene ſonantibus*, in good tune, by the impreſſions of Muſique (though by mee an vnskilfull artiſan rudely fingered) they will I hope the more calmely and temperately accept the other following treatiſe of veſtiments, eſpecially while it is ſo briefe. If thoſe who haue ſtopped their eares againſt not onely the vocall ſound, but alſo the vocall defenſe of Church-Muſique, thinke me too arrogant in hoping that any *Enthuſiaſme* can proceed from my Muſicall diſcourſe to ſurprize their preiudicat opinions, let them but looke into the very nature and inſtinct proper to an intellectuall ſubſtance, and they ſhall find that argument and ſtrength of reaſon, hath no leſſe vnreſiſtable force, to attract and purchaſe the aſſent of the reaſonable ſoule, then the actuall ſound of Muſique hath to mooue and mollifie the hardeſt and moſt ſtony hearts: as it is written of *Amphion* that he did *Saxa mouere ſono, teſtudinis & prece blanda ducere quo vellet*, then ſhould not the true reaſons of Muſical vertue (which are to the vnderſtanding more ſtrong than harmonie to the ſence) mollifie and guide the moſt obdurate harts of ſuch as profeſſe a kind of deadly feade againſt the vſe thereof.

If the Muſique were a thing onely indifferent, that

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is to say, the instrumentall Musique in the Church were neither commanded nor commended by Gods word, it is enough for our reception against of it by the argument of *Zanchius* for Vnitie as it sayd. But certainely the Church Musique or that which is grave, affectioned and holy, it is a true phisicke of the spirit, which doth restore it from distemperature and confusion, whither it doe proceede from naturall melancholy, it recalleth the dispersed faculties of the mind to one center, it doth reconfort the astonished powers thereof, and by little and little lead them backe againe to the sense of reason by getting their consent to conspire together, and to attend the melodious harmony, so that in that case it is a seruant and souldier of the soule, which helpeth her and giueth her the meanes to pacifie a turbulent and disordered spirit, as ancient philosophers speaking metaphisically of this payne have sayd, that the Musique doth cure the bodie by way of the soule, euen as physicke doth cure the minde oftentimes by way of the bodie. What shall I speake of Church Musique, when prophane histories do record, that among the Grecks the Laconickes, yea King *Alexander* himselfe did employ the Musique to medicin their extraordinarie passions: And who doth not vnderstand that there is a kinde of furious madnesse of the minde in Almaine called *Stryrus* which is not cured but by the sound of Musicall Instruments, and an other in Italie called *Tarantula*, which is not cured but in the like sort; or whither it be that the distemperature of the Spirit, doth flow from externall causes as from demoniacall Inuasion, the Musique doth helpe it much, as we see by that practise of *Dauid*, who by the sweetnesse of his harp, did terrifie and banish for the time that vncleane and disordered spirit which vexed King *Saul*.

Alwaies to proceede, the most apt and open reasons for the profitable vse of Musique in the publibue seruice of God, may be drawen out of these two fountaines, the one of nature, the other of Scripture, the one will induce credit

credit as we are men, the other as we are Christians.

The voyce of nature next to our owne experience, we may best receiue from the iudgement of those whom we either approue for Philosophers, or reuerence for discerners of that which in nature now corrupted, yet remaineth sincere, vsefull and lawfull.

And in vaine should I vndergoe needlesse trouble if I would search what the ancients haue found out and recorded, hereof *Plato* shall be to me *vnus instar omnium*, seconded also by *Tully* in his second booke *de legibus*, *Assentior Platoni nihil tam facile in animos teneros atque molles influere, quam varios concentus, quorū dici non potest quam multa sit vis in vtramque partem. Nanq; & incitat languentes & languefacit excitatos, & tum vtrumlibet animos tum contrahit.* Musique hath an incredible power either to stir vp the affections when they are dull & heauy, or to allay & compose them when they are incensed and troubled. *Martin Bucer* giueth a plaine naturall reason hereof (which I had rather flicke to then to search of what harmonicall proportion the soule of man is composed) *Animales spiritus quibus affectus anima constant aereæ sunt materiæ, atque ideo ab infracto extrinsecus tempore atq; conuenienti aere per aures delato, mirum in modum citantur, pragne illius temperaturæ imitantur.* The animall spirits of our bodyes (the next instruments of the soule) being made of an aery substance are wonderfully affected with the externall aire when it is tempered with certaine proportionable motions and melodious sounds. From hence are the diuerse effects of diuerse kindes of Musique, the Phrygian, Lydian, Doricke and Ionicke.

Cicer de leg. 2.

Bucer in Psa. 33.

S. *Augustine* citeth out of *Tully* a remarkable instance *Cū vinolenti adolescentes &c.* When certain younkers well tippled, & wherted with light wanton musique attempted violently to breake open the doores of a chaste matrons house, *Pythagoras* called to the Musician, *vt spondeum caneret*, to play a slow, graue and stately tune, vpon hearing whereof by the grauitie of that straine, their luxurious

Aug. lib. 5. contra Iulian.

luxurious humour was presently allayed.

Whereby, as also by euery mans daily experience it is euident what force there is in Musique for inciting, composing and moderating the passions of the minde. But here euen out of this example may be obiected the abuse and corruption of manners by some kinde of light harmonie applyed to lighter Ditties; whereto I answer, that this it selfe is no small commendation vnto the grauer and more diuine sort of harmonie, that the Deuill (whose desire and vse is alwaies to peruert the best creatures and gifts of God) hath sought thus *infamare rem optimam*, to discredit so excellent a gift as Musique is. As *Bucer* saith in *Psalm*: *Haud leuiter detestandum rem tam diuinam & religioni præcipuè natam abusu ad voluptates sic vitiasse ac reddidisse infamem.* The conuenient and necessarie vse of wholesome herbes and commodious mineralls is not to be abandoned, but rather with more discretion and diligence to be searched into, because some others are dangerous and poysonous. The Deuill hath not onely his furnished Quyre for Idolatry (as in the worship of the golden Image) and his Minstrelsie for wantonnes, but euen his set inuocations and Sacraments: yet wee doe not therefore robbe God of his due in these kindes, because the Deuills apishnesse hath endeauoured by imitation to derogate from his most decent and formall worship. But this by the way.

To returne to that kinde of Musique, whereof onely wee vnderstand; whatsoeuer wee haue or shall in this discourse bring for the aduancing the seruice of God, namely, the graue, constant, and as it is of the Ancients called, *Spondaike* veyne of harmonie; that surely hath a naturall fitnesse to allay our incomposed and disordered affections, to imprint in our soules if not the character of vertue, yet the next aptitude thereto, if not to sow the fruitfull seeds of piety, yet to make *animum subactum*, that is, to prepare and eare vp the furrowes of our

hearts, and to leaue our passions fertile and ready for receipt of the best impressions.

And when I pray you can the vse of such externall helps be more seasonable, then when wee must most of all sequester our thoughts from the drosse of earnall and worldly encombrances, when wee are to sublimate our soules and to make them ascend vnto the throne of grace? Where can the symphony of decent Musique more fitly sound, then where there is already a symphonie and vnion of desires, yea of soules in a deuout congregation of Christians? Where shall the souldiers expect to heare the language of their warfare, the trumpet and drum to giue the alarme, to whet their fortitude and incite them to fight fiercely and constantly, but there, where they are in their troupes and bands combined together, in battell aray? What indeed are the prayers of a full Christian Congregation, but an earnest striuing with God, and euen wrastling with him for a blessing as *Iacob* did, or withholding him from iudgements, as *Moses* did, nay a kinde of besieging and surprising the fortresse of heauen it selfe by violence? Most true it is that the fountaine and root of all such powerfull intercessions and invocations is the inward zeale of the heart, which the eye of the Almightie hath speciall regard vnto (so that without it the approaching neere to God with our lips is not only fruitlesse but abhominable) yet as true is it that this our inward zeale and deuotion is the more enflamed and increased euen towards God, and illustrated and imparted mutually by one to another by the outward additaments and helps of gesture, tunes, acclamations, melodious harmonie of voice and of instrument, by the passionate inflexions whereof the soule is sweetly tempered, and lead with ease and delight to those apprehensions which otherwise it could not without difficultie and laborious intention be framed vnto. By the lightnesse whereof the soule getteth winges to mount the swifter and soare the higher. Not that the slirilnesse

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or sweetnesse of these sounds doth really pierce the heauens, or that God is delighted with the melodious proportions of sounds, but as vocall prayer is commended and commanded by him who before hand knoweth the vnuttered petitions and groanes of our hearts, not onely in publique invocation for a meane of coniunction, but euen in priuate deuotions and ciaculations of the soule for the better enflaming of our hearts with feruencie by the concurring of bodily expressions; so also is this externall and vocall adoration commodiously seconded and strongly redoubled by those instigations and transportations which are suggested by Musique. In which, furnishing the seruice of God, it is not necessarie that euerie note or point in the smallest parts and fractions bee significant in it selfe, (that in Instruments especially being impossible) but it is sufficient that they accompanie and concord with the ditti'e and words of invocation, cloathing them as it were with habit and shapes fit for the particular matter and phrase of the hymne; sometime putting on a large habit and deepe colour of grauitie and slownesse, otherwhile with quicknesse and agilitie passing more lightly and hastily, sometime aduancing with lowdnesse, otherwhile depressing with lowenesse, still adding a liuely and emphaticall impression of harmonie befitting the character of the subiect matter.

Most powerfully doth the heauenly vigor of stately and maiestike Musique both of voice and instruments, set forth it selfe as vpon a fit stage of action, when the vniuersall Church presenteth to God hir reuerent and awfull adoration of his heauenly Maiestie, when the tongues of Angells and of all other creatures are represented by the tongues of men, when whatsoeuer gift is in Art, is in a modell shadowed in the artificiall Musique, all proclayming the vnspeakable power and wisdome of the Creator, the infinite mercie of the Redeemer, the endles glory of him by whom and for whom are all things. Of this streyne and stile are those diuine

hymnes scattered among the Psalmes of *David*, and recommended to the Church in all ages by the spirit of God: In speciall the Psalmes 33. 104. 135. 136. 147. 148. 150. And next to those sacred portions of Scripture, that excellent hymne *Te Deum* penned by *S. Ambrose*, and vsed in the daily Liturgie of the Westerne Church. These and such like sacred Ditties of glorifying God, and yeelding to his throne the tributarie duty and thankes of all the creatures, when they are duely consorted with voyce and sober graue Instruments, they are like *bona merx in bono lumine collocata*, pretious wares or faire pictures set in a lightsome place. nay they doe so naturally symbolize with Instruments, as if they had not been so much composed for Musique, as Musique invented for them.

Another eminent transportation befitting solemne Musique is τὸ ἐπινίκιον, the loftie streyne of tryumph of Gods Church, which being armed and embellished with harmonie, doth not onely fortifie the hearts of the children of God in their reioycing, but also seemeth to giue a more powerfull defiance to the enemies of the kingdome of God, both visible oppressors, and invisible opposers, wicked men, and spirituall wickednesses. Of this sort are the tryumphant songs of *Moses*, Exod: 15. of *Deborah*, Iud. 5. of *David*, Psal: 114. which, with some others of that kinde being poetically penned, seeme in their measure of words and periods, to awake the Harpe and Lute, and to call for the ornaments of Musique to be put vpon them, as if bare reading or pronouncing were too cold and thin a cloathing for them.

Other passions of desire, of spirituall loue, of hope, of awe, of sorrow, of charitie, of deuote humilitie, & whatsoeuer else is the exercise of a Christian, may receiue from hence their enlargment & extention. He that in remorse of his own vilenesse would with the Publican beat his breast, and strike sadly and softly at the gate of mercy, for the easier melting of his soule let his eare be possessed with

with a dolesome, flat, and sondaike streine of Musique. Hereof *S. Augustine* is a witnesse by his owne experience, from whose eyes teares were drawne by the publique Musique of the Church at Milan. And surely that heart must needs be very tough and obdurate, in which graue and well composed Musique displaying it selfe in the house of God doth neuer beget some good disposition to remorse or deuotion. *Vere qui norunt quid sit toto corde, tota anima, totisq; viribus amare Deum, illi facile agnoscunt, quam apposita religioni sit Musica, propterea quod tantum ad componendum & excitandũ animum valet.* Saith *Bucer* one of the lights of the reformed Church. Conf

Sowe see that Musique hath its part in the Church of God for edification, though not of the vnderstanding directly, because it doth not infuse knowledge, yet of the affections, which are the proper obiect of Musique, as it is operatiue. The affections are the Sea on which this heauenly light worketh by perpendicular aspect. Their floats, their ebbs, are caused and guided by this planet, their stormes and waues are allayed by this sweet influence. As by sleepe *concentratur calor, colligun-tur spiritus*, the spirits vitall and animall are called in, the naturall heat is drawne to the center, so by the rauishing slumber in which sweet harmonie enwrappeth the soule, the senses are suspended, and all exorbitant passions retyred. And yet indirectly and by accident it may be said to worke vpon the vnderstanding also, by suggesting and proposing fit streynes and harmonies, which being but dead in themselues, yet doe invite the minde to giue a kinde of forme and soule to them, and to apply sutable contemplations and eiaculations of the soule formerly instructed, and now abstracted, and made in some degree extaticall: In which regard there is some libertie giuen vnto organicall Musique, not only to accompanie the voyce, but also sometime for short spaces to hold on when the vocall maketh a pause, that thereby it may be left a little to its owne proper and solitarie operation, as

also that some relaxation and intermission may be afforded both to those that are imployed in reading and singing, and to the continuall intention of the Auditors attention, alwayes prouided, that in these interims or interscenes, neither to much time be taken vp, nor in any Church musicke, to much curiositie or ostentation of art be vsed, as the learned and iuditious Master *Hooker* admonisheth, much lesse any light and wanton tunes or straines: of which abomination in the Popish Quyres Master *Bucer* complaineth, that their Organists did *Spurcissimarum cantionum melos Organis modulari, & sub nomine Christi crucifixi nil aliud quam Veneri sacrificari*, play filthy ribauld tunes vpon the Organs, and vnder the shew of deuotion to Christ crucified, offer sacrifice euen to Venus. But such prophane abuses suggested by the deuill cannot preiudice the Godly vse of graue musicke, as before I haue noted.

Eccles. Polit. 5. booke. 38. Section. Bucer in Psal. 33

Now to proceed in my intended discourse: In the holy Scriptures we finde very frequent and diuerse motiues for the approbation and recommendation of the vse of Musicke in the seruice of God; In prosecution whereof, my intent is not to take vp whatsoeuer may be to that purpose auouched or collected out of the booke of God, but only to touch in briefe the principall heads, whereto, any one that will imploy more particular paines in this search, may referre other proofes which I shall passe by. The distinct consideration of these proofes, may bee raunged according to these seuerall times, into which by the ordinance of the Creator, all time, and euen all succeeding eternitie is diuided: namely the ages before the law, vnder the law, the current season of the Gospel, and the boundlesse eternity of future glory.

And first vnder the law of nature, before the Mosaicall was instituted, we may obserue, that *Gen.* 4. 21. there is a speciall marke of recommendation to all posteritie set vpon *Tubal*, *That he was the father of those that play vpon the Organs and Harpes*: that is, that such musicall instruments were both intended by *Tubal*, and afterward frequented

frequented and vſed by his inſtruction or immitation. From whence I thus collect and argue: whatſoeuer hath in it a naturall fitneſſe for the glorifying of God, was in that age, if not by the inuenter intended, yet by the after practiſes imployed to the ſeruice of God: But muſicke, whether vocall or inſtrumentall, hath in it a diſpoſition to the aduancing of the glory of God, not in a generall remote and indirect ſort (as all both artificiall inuentions, and naturall creatures haue in their particular ends, a ſecret reference to the laſt and higheſt end the glorifying of him, who is all in all) but properly and directly in guiding, conforming, altering and ſeaſoning the beſt of our affections, our zeale to Gods honour, and admiration of his Maieſty, as hath beene before declared; Therefore it appearing that in that young growth of the world, ſuch inſtruments were found out & publiſhed, it is more then probable, that they were by the beſt men of that age, & faithfulleſt imployed to the beſt vſe, euen the helpe and beautifying of the inuocation of the name of God. What, though it doe not appeare, what was then the forme of outward inuocation and worſhip of God, beſide ſacrificing? What though the Church was not then perhaps growen into a polincall ſtate? As ſurely as men had then, both by nature, inſtinct of the Godhead, and by inſtruction from *Adam*, a knowledge of the true God, and of his due worſhip, ſo certainely they did vſe outward inuocation with the voyce, as well as with the heart: and why not by ſinging as well as ſaying: and why not with inſtrumentall muſicke, as well as vocall? Why then not ordeined and ordered by the œconomical regiment of the Patriarkes, in whom the Prieſtly power was vnited with the Regall, as well as afterward publiſhed by more diſtinct conſtitution, when the Prieſthood was ſeuered from the kingly office. He that is incredulous herein, let him but trauaile a little further with the Church of God, and follow the footſteps of Iſrael ouer the red ſea, he ſhall preſently heare ſounding in his eares

that

that most Patheticall and Poeticall song of triumph, penned and chaunted by the man of God, and Prince and Prophet of Israel the great *Moses*, and not so onely, but also ecchoed with solemne chorall responses, by the sister of the high Priest, and to shew that all voycing musicke, though having so noble a precentor, and being celebrated by so full a Quire of all the people of Israel (verse 1.) yet is not sufficient to display the zeale and ioy of the Church of God, there commeth in besides, as in *Medio Chori*, the noyse of Tymbrels in the hands of *Miriam*, and of all the women that came out after her (verse 20.) not to yeeld any new instruction to their vnderstandings, though she were a Prophetesse, but (which is the true vse of such musicke) first to giue a greater downeweight to their affections, and to make their spirituall ioy ouerflow the bankes of ordinary apprehension, and to transport them into an higher degree of heauenly rauishment, by those artificiall sounds added to the naturall, and secondly to infixe deeper in their minds and memories those diuine straines, by recording and repeating the same point in the same verses, a thing in Church musicke, not to be abandoned, if tempered with grauity, as here we may expressly gather.

For when *Moses* and the people had begun their song in this manner. *I will sing vnto the Lord: for hee hath triumphed gloriously, &c. Miriam* with her troupe and instruments and voyces, answered the men, *Sing yee vnto the Lord: for hee hath triumphed gloriously, &c.* (*vers.* 21.)

This because it did precede the deliuery of the ceremoniall law by *Moses*, I thinke I may safely referre either to the law of nature, or to the inueterate practise of the most antient Church of God, euen from the first Patriarkes and Fathers of mankind. In time of the Law, the very enditer himselfe *Moses*, did by the immediate command of God, when he was to die, leaue as his last Testament of monition or *cygnea cantio*, a formall song, which as God put into his mouth, so he into the mouths

of

of the children of Israel, *Exod.* 31. 19. to be a perpetuall witnesse to and against them: which beginneth with a most rhetoricall and Poeticall exclamation of adiuring the heauens and earth to bee witnesses. This pithy abstract of the admonitions and doctrines of *Moses*, conteyning Gods benefits towardes his Church, the vpbrayding of their ingratitude, Gods threats against them, and mysterious predictions of the vocation of the Gentiles, &c. The spirit of GOD did chuse to set downe to his Church, rather in forme of Song then of Sermon, thereby insinuating that it would be with more facility receiued and with deeper impression retained, which is implied by *Moses* himselfe in the following words of the beginning of that song, *ver.* 2. *My doctrine shall drop as the raine and my speech shall distill as the deaw.* As if hee had said this last doctrine of mine which I deliuered to Gods people by way of song, shall indeed by the diuine matter thereof instruct their vnderstandings: but shall by the manner of musicall inditement and recording therof, pierce with the greater sweetnesse and facility, and by a secret vnseene influence, feed and refresh your soules, as the hearbs and plants are cherished by the deaw and fedde by the soft showers. And afterward when the Temple was to succeed the Tabernacle, *David* did before hand prouide Leuites and singers: his preparations of that kinde were: first, when *the Arke had rest* (1. *Chron.* 6. 31.) 1. *Chron.* 15. And shortly after the Temple was to be builded by *Salomon*, 1. *Chron.* 25. At both *David* appointed Leuites and singers with *instruments of musicke, &c.* And added thereto the dities which they were to sing, being a set forme of inuocation and thanksgiuing. 1. *Chron.* 16. 8. *Prayse yee the Lord, &c.* which also is repeated among the Psalmes, *Psal.* 105. Moreouer, in a manner the whole Booke of Psalmes were by the same Prophet, penned in Meeter to be sung (as they are since in all ages and places) in the Church of God. Amongst which some *Psalm.* 33. and

150. make especiall reference vnto the instrumentall musicke.

If heereto it be replied that all this furniture of musicke was proper to the Temple, and meerely typicall, and part of the pedagogy of the old Testament, I may answere that in regard of the number and distinct offices and certaine kindes of instruments, those constitutions of *David* might well bee ceremoniall: but the vse of instrumentall musicke in generall in the publike praising of God, was and is morall or naturall; not indeed of absolute necessity, as if there were no lawfull seruice in the Church without it, but of conuenience and expediency for the naturall fitnesse, and decent fruitfulnesse which they may haue. Neither can it be denied but that where the same cause of constitution yet remaineth, the practise may be well retained, at least as times and circumstances shall require or permit. Now those that are most seuerely affected against the Church musicke among Christians, vse this as a chiefe reason why it was established in that Church, because it was a fit *Schoolemaster for that people.* And are there not and alwayes will bee among Christians, some that needle to be fed with milke,

Basil in Psa. 48. as well as others with strong meate? Did not Saint *Basil* obserue this, and in that regard commend the prouidence of the spirit of God, who by the Prophet *David* had prouided for his Church perpetually, that heauenly mysteries, might be mingled with sweet melody. *That two sort of learners might thus bee the better prouided for, those that are either young in yeeres, or greene in growth of vertue might while they thinke to delight themselues with the melody, receiue some good impression of instruction.*

But if this cause seeme vnsufficient, or Saint *Basils* authority not strong enough, wee may out of the text it selfe, where this musicall furniture for the Temple is instituted. 1. *Chron.* 16. deriue a more constant reason, which must needes hold in both Testaments. *Leuites were appointed to sing with instruments, &c. that they might*

make

make a sound and lift vp their voyce with ioy: whence I thinke I may thus inferre. The end and reason of the institution of such musicke by *Dauid* is not (for ought I can finde) said to be for any prefiguration of action to be fulfilled by the Messias, or for any cause or consequent proper to the people and Church of the Iewes, which with the sacrifices and other ceremonies were to expire, but the reason there added is from a naturall or rather spirituall affection common to all Churches whether vnder the Law of *Moses* or vnder the Gospell of grace, especially in flourishing times, namely a cleare and feruent confession and profession of the mercies and graces of our God with thanksgiuing and exultation, which as it is in the congregation to be solemnly performed with the *voyce*, and that *lifted vp* viz. with singing, so that it may be aduanced to the highest streyne of *ioy*, it must, or at least with conueniency may, haue the help of instrumentall musique *which may make a sound and lift vp their voice with ioy*. So if in the Christian Church, where the vaile is withdrawne, and the mysteries and mercies of God the Father in his beloued appeare more cleerely and gloriously, there bee no lesse cause of holy ioy (nay vnspeakable and glorious, 1. *Pet.* 1. 8.) why should not this our ioy breake forth into the like manifestation, and that the best manifesting and enhaunsing thereof, is by musicke, and that euen instrumentall, the spirit of God beareth record, as I haue noted. And verily if the imployment of instruments in the Iudaicall Temple maketh them meerely ceremoniall, and debarreth the Christian Church of all such vse of the like in that kinde; why doth not the same reason banish also all vse of singing in our Churches, because *Dauid* instituted singers for the Temple? for as yet I could neuer heere any direct and sufficient proofe, why the one should haue a morall and perpetuall vse, and the other onely a ceremoniall signification.

Thirdly, as for the time of grace if sacred musicke

were onely a cloud and typicall shadow, it should then haue vanished when the body came and the most glorious morning starre appeared. But wee finde that euen this bright starre, when it first began to appeare in the earthly Horizon, chose for the blazing forth the beames of his maiesty aboue all creatures, or meanes in heauen
Luk. 2. 13. or earth, a troup of inuisible, yet audible Choristers: who descending from the Temple of the celestiall Ierusalem, praised God and cheered vp man with a short Christmasse Caroll, but of a most sweet and mysterious ditty; which all Christians delight to heere still sounding in their eares and hearts, nay the very Angells themselues desire to behold & vnderstand. The same our Sauior, as he cõming into the world would be saluted with musicke, so euen with that mouth whence dropped the like hony, the words of grace and life: he vouchsafed to honour that exercise in the end of his last supper, hee and his Apostles went to Mount Oliue singing an Hymne.
Mat. 26. 30. Neither after this our bridegroome was taken away did the children of the bridechamber, let fall their parts in spirituall songs, but both practised and exhorted to the continuance of this enkindling of zeale and piety. *Ephes.* 5. 19. *Colos.* 3. 16. An expresse iniunction for *Psalmes, Hymnes, and spirituall Songs, and making melody.* Which vse to haue continued in the primitiue Church, not onely *Tertullian* and other ancient Christians, but euen the Ethnicke, *Plinny* in his Epistle to *Traiane* the Emperour doth testifie, *Christo cuidam Deo hymnos canentes antelucanos*: But heere may bee, and indeed is obiected, that hymnes and songs, vsed by our Sauiour, or his Apostles, or continued in the primitiue Church, were onely vocal and without all artificiall instrument. Wherto that I may shape answere, I doubt not (euen granting that their melody was onely singing) thence to inferre *a pari*, a firm consequence for the addition of the other kind of musick, & to auouch without imputation of a

Para-

Paradoxe, that the modulating voyce of a man and of an inſtrument are in this reſpect *eiuſdem rationis*.

For if one looke into the nature of ſounds, in their generall cauſe they are nothing but reuerberations of the aire, in their forme and relation they are deductions or compoſitions of proportions in the diſtances or connexions of high and low, flat and ſharpe. So that whatſoeuer the immediate matter and inſtrument be whether meerely naturall as the throat, teeth and tongue, or artificially compoſed of pipes or ſtrings with metall or wood, the ſound it ſelfe, as it melodious or ſymphoniacall maketh no difference of obiect, but carrieth the ſame repreſentation to the eare and iudgement of the hearers; To this purpoſe may I, not vnfitly, apply that elegant compariſon which *Theodoret* maketh between the voice of a man and a paire of organs in the parts of each. *In man* (ſaith he) *the lungs are the bellowes, which are mooued not with foot or hand but by the muſcels of the breſt, the teeth and roofe of the mouth ſupply the place of the pipes, the tongue by its nimble motion performeth the office of the Muſicians hand for the diſtinguiſhing and articulating the ſounds.* Thus in the viuacitie of his rhetorique he ſeemeth in this compariſon to make the *protaſis* or propoſition in the artificial, and the reddition in the naturall by making man a muſicall inſtrument. Then preſently followes the ſame reſemblance with the terms inuerted to the naturall order, where hee plainely ſheweth that art hath heerein imitated nature in Citernes and ſuch like inſtruments wherin *the teeth are repreſented by the ſtrings, the lips by the frets, the tongue by the quill, the vnderſtanding by the hand, which mooueth and ſtriketh, or ſtoppeth high and low, lowd and ſoft, ſlow and quicke in diuerſe formes.* The like compariſon is alſo vſed by *Gregory Nyſſen* in his learned Treatiſe *De opificio hominis*, where he reſembleth the vſe and parts of the flute or fife to the inſtruments of ſpeech in man. Vpon which liuely and mutuall reſemblances as *Theodoret* calleth man a liuing organe, and the copy of artificiall organs,

Theodoret de prouidentia lib. 3.

ἀψύχων ὄργανον.

gans, so may I terme an organ a singing man made with the hand, or rather a liueleſſe though not breathleſſe guide of many voices and parts.

But heere it will bee replyd, that all artificiall instruments made by man, come farre short of this one made by God himselfe, that none of those how elegant soeuer and cunningly handled, can possibly make a sound properly articulate, much lesse significant; and therefore that they are to bee excluded out of the seruice of God, whereto the vocall musique may bee admitted because significatiue and vnderstandable. To this may answer be made, first by acknowledging with *Theodoret that man being the image of God, in imitating his Creatour can produce no higher workes then such as are but shadowes of the workes of God. That nature is the modell after which art worketh, and that art is but the image or resemblance of nature.* And therefore that all the most curious instruments in the world are not comparable with an humane voyce for suauity and liuely expressions, neither is instrumentall musique to be opposed vnto, or compared with vocall, but added as an helper, a wife, or second, or if you will an hand-mayd thereunto. In which respect I doe not hold it to bee *eiusdem gradus* though in generall *eiusdem rationis*: as belonging to the same army, but to be ranged in an inferiour squadron: a guest of the sacred feast, but at a lower table. Secondly, as for want of signification, I maintaine it that the sound and harmony of Instruments though it be not articulate, yet it is significant; in its owne kinde I meane and proper element, by gentle steps and sweete inflexions working vpon the affections, and expressely nay powerfully speaking to them, euen perswading, instructing, nay commanding them, and imprinting in them the characters of vertue and deuotion, and containing the seedes of good motions in the inward seat of the minde by the outer part of the sences and passions. Thirdly in vocall musique I demand what it is that shall make that lawfull and conuenient for Gods

Gods ſeruice? Is it the ſignification of the words? or the melodie of the tune and ſymphonie? If the firſt, then ſinging is not recommended as it is ſinging, but rather as ſaying: and then it were better ſuch pſalmes or hymnes were barely pronounced or read: for ſo their ſence and ſignification is beſt vnderſtood. If the ſecond, then inſtrumentall muſique muſt likewiſe be admitted, wherein the ſame ſounds for tune and concord of parts are by the ſame rules of art practiſed and expreſſed. But it may be oueradded that the muſique of the voice is paſſable, as hauing both theſe together and performing them with one breath. Moſt true; and therein is the chiefe excellency of that guift of God, that in one and the ſame ſound it edifieth both the vnderſtanding and the affections. Yet the other which cannot act but one of his properties is not therefore to bee condemned or contemned. In phyſique ſome ingredients worke *attrahendo* by their ſearching and vigorous quality of attraction, others only *adiuuando* by diffuſing the ſtronger ſimples, and ſo helping the operation of them: and without theſe the other would be leſſe actiue and profitable. Euen ſo in ſacred muſique the chiefe vigour of our praiers and adoration commeth from the ditty which worketh immediately vpon our vnderſtanding, but that is much helped and quickened by adding thereto a proportionable temper of artificiall harmony, which ſhall make it penetrate the deeper into our affections.

As the Church militant in the three forenamd eſtates and ſeuerall times, ſo and much more the Church triumphant in eternity, doth out of the Scriptures ſupplie vs with proofe of the conueniency of ſetting foorth the praiſe of God with mellodious harmony. For when in reading the Scriptures I view that little (yet ſufficient for our knowlepge) which God hath reuealed concerning the ſtate of the bleſſed Angels & Saints in heauen, mee thinkes it muſt needes bee great raſhneſſe, to condemne that as ſuperſtitious or ſuperfluous, if imitated heere

heere on earth, which the ſpirit of God teſtifieth to bee the endleſſe imployment of thoſe that ſee God face to face in heauen. Is not the Ieruſalem which is aboue the mother of vs all, into whoſe boſome we hope to be gathered? Is it not that which wee hope and grone for in the vale of this fleſh to become once ἰσάγγελοι like to the Angells? Is it not that which we daily pray for, that Gods will may be done on earth as it is in heauen? why then may wee not, why ought we not euen now to imitate the worke of the Angells in their adoring the moſt High, and as farre as we can performe that in our Churches (the type of the euerlaſting Temple) which we ſhall, when we are hereafter cloathed with immortalitie, intend in heauen perpetually? If we will open the booke of God (the very window of heauen) wee ſhall there ſee & heare the bleſſed Seraphins thus bleſſing and adoring him *that ſitteth on an high throne, crying to one another & ſaying, Holy, holy, holy Lord of hoſts. The whole world is full of his glory.* If we looke in further we may ſee the foure Euangeliſts figured out by the foure beaſts full of eyes, encompaſſing the throne & without ceaſing day and night ſinging the like Antiphone *Holy, holy, Lord God Almighty which was, and which is, and which is to come.* If wee will yet view to the vtmoſt end, we may behold Gods champions after their conqueſt ouer the beaſt holding in their hand as banners of that victory diſplaied more audibly then viſibly *the harpes of God*, The melody of which inſtruments they doe animate by ſinging the ſong of *Moſes the ſeruant of God, and the ſong of the Lambe, ſaying, Great and marueilous are thy workes Lord God Almighty &c. Apo.* 19. 6. *The voyce of a great multitude as the voyce of manie waters, and as the voice of ſtrong thundrings, ſaying, Halleluiah*, verſe 3. *And againe they ſayd Halleluiah.* Loe here we haue plainly repreſented vnto vs not only ſinging and that by repetition againe & againe, but interchangeable chaunting in the Seraphins in that they are ſayd to *cry one to another holy, holy, holy*, which three ſacred words the

Iſai. 6. 3.

Apoc. 4 8.

Apoc. 15. 2.

the emblеme of the euer-blessed Trinitie, when I heare in the *Te Deum* in the vulgar tongue with a point of maiesticall correspondence gravely and reverently sung in the Cathedrall Churches of England, how others are affected I know not, but for my selfe me thinks the very Celestiall Temple of God is brought downe among vs, or we in these bodies rapt vp among the Seraphims, and bearing parts in the Quyre of heauenly souldiers. More ouer, vnto such vocall singing here is distinctly added the other helpe of adoring and adorning the heauenly Maiestie by instrumentall harmonie, *the harpes*, and they honcured with an attribute, euen the *Harpes of God*, so styled either in regard of the subiect to whose praise they are vsed, or of the Author by whose gift that and the like blessings are afforded to the best of the creatures, both wayes designing one and the same fountaine *GOD*.

I will not heere (lest I should lose my selfe) intrude into the search of hidden secrets treasured vp in heauen, how and in what sense Angels and blessed Saints in heauen are to be vnderstood to sing before the throne of the Almightie: whether this be in the Scripture described in a sensible forme onely for our capacity, but to bee interpreted in a spirituall and allegoricall alluſion; surely if the substance of Angels and soules of men be not meerely incorporall, it is not absurd to maintaine that they may immediately *ex innatis principijs & similitudine substantiæ* in the most pure body or space of the heauen of heauens the seat of the blessed, both raise such reall and corporeall voyces, & also be affected with the sweet harmonie and proportions of such sounds. And when after the resurrection, the soules of the faithfull shall bee clothed againe with their bodies, it is not amisse to thinke that the bodie shall partake with the soule as of fullnesse of ioy, so of the act and exercise of perpetuall adoration. And as our naturall eyes shall then really and corporally behold the most beautifull obiect of our Sauiours glo-

nified humanitie, *oculis meis videbo Redemptorẽ meũ*, saith *Iob*; so it is not against the analogie of faith to thinke that our tongues and mouthes may then employ themselues in endlesse vocall hymnes and songs of thanksgiuing, of glory and worship to him that sitteth vpon the throne, and to the Lambe who by his bloud hath redeemed vs out of euery kindred, and tongue, & people, and nation, and hath made vs Kings and Priests vnto God his Father. And sithence I haue been comforted from probable, sweet, and reuerend contemplations of the more learned, to thinke that some sympathie may be betwixt the musicall Harmonie and the Angelicall nature, it maketh me to presome a little vpon these following speaches, to dispute whether there may not also bee a secret antipathie and enmitie naturall betwixt Musicke and wicked Spirits.

The reason of which when we begin to consider, wee finde it more sublime and remote from our sensible capacitie, then to search the causes of these other things, which euill spirits are also thought to abhorre: and therefore it doth argue, that Musicke is a thing supernaturall and heauenly. We read that the Deuils do mightily hate the presence of fire, of salt, and of Musicke, the fire because it is life and light, and Satan is the Prince of darknes, and delighteth in darknesse; the salt because it hath a virtue to purge corruption, it is the marke of eternitie, and he seeketh by all meanes to corrupt, defile, and destroy, which is the reason why God commanded in the old Law to put salt vpon the Table of his Sanctuarie, and to haue Salt specially in the sacrifice, forbidding by the contrarie to put honie or wine therein, to signifie that wee must offer the sacrifice of our prayers to God with sobrietie and prudence, not mixed with flatteries, or bold speeches. God saith in the Law, I shall make with you a couenant of *Salt*, that is of perpetuitie, as many are of opinion, that the changing of the wife of *Lot* into a pillar of *Salt*, was, as to say, a perpetuall Statue, but when

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wee come to seeke the cause why the Musicke is fled of the Diuell, wee finde it more subtle, if the opinion were true of the Academicks, who say that the Diuells be not onely bodily but elementarie, mid-creatures betwixt visible and invisible bodies, *animalia scilicet corpore aëria mente rationalia, animo passiua, tempore eterna.* Then might wee be induced without running to other mysteries, to acknowledge some reason why they cannot abide the melodie of Musicke, nor no delectable suffumigations, by that which is read of the exorcismes of *Salomon*, and of the smoake of the fish of *Tobia*, but the difficultie to know the demoniack nature & substance maketh this contemplation remoter. *S. Augustin:* saith in his last chap: of the 3. *de Trinit:* that the Diuells are corporall, as *Basil, Gregor: Epiph:* say as much, whereon this sort of demonstration is founded. There is but one infinite substance, the supreme essence, a substance cannot be finite, but by extremities of superficies, and that doth only belong to corporall things, and therefore those spirits must bee corporall because they are finite. Alwaies the more common opinion of Theologie is, as of *Damasc: Greg. Nazianz: Thomas Aquinas*, and of the *Master of the Sentences*, that the Angels and the Diuels be formes both pure, and simple, and that both can forme themselues in visible bodies, when they would effect any thing bodily, which is testified of the Angells by their apparitions to *Abraham*, to *Iacob*, to *Moses*, to *Elias*, to *Abacuck*, Of the Diuells againe testified by experience inquestionable, of the aquilonar *Succubi* and *Incubi*, testified by the Cabalists, who affirme that vncleane spirits do often take the shapes of Bucks, ston'd Horses, and such like creatures repleat with bestiall luxurie, wherevpon, say they, proceedeth that in Leuiticus, that you goe not to sacrifice to those Bucks and Satyres; and that in *Esay* of the destruction of Babell, *Ziim* shall lodge there, and their streets shall bee full of *Ohim: Satyres* shall dance there, and *Iim* shall cry into their Palaces. Testified

Arist: Metaph: 4.

againe by many places of holy Scripture, the Diuell spake bodily to *Adam*, to *Christ*. Hee tooke the person of *Samuel*, albeit that *Iustin: Martyr*, and many of the Hebrew Doctors reason that it was *Samuel* himselfe, as well because of that Text of Ecclesiasticus, where it is said that *Samuel* did propheſie after his death, as because of the answer giuen to *Saul*, which seemeth to bee full of pietie, pronouncing the name of *GOD* sixe or seauen times, holding that *Saul* was not condemned eternally as they thinke, but in the estate of that incestuous man, who was ordayned by *S. Paul* to bee excommunicate, to the end his bodie being chastned, his soule might be saued. Yet *S. Augustine* and the best Diuines stand for it that it was *Satan* and not *Samuel*, which no doubt is the onely sound opinion; *Scotus subtilis* in the second booke of his Sentences saith, that the Angells assumed bodies not to bee ioyned or vnited with them hypostatically, but to moue them and vse them as instruments, much more then saith he, the Diuells can assume bodies because they are more elementarie, as they doe change themselues in bodies, so from this same ground it is affirmed that they can also change bodies.

For three things we obserue in Gods works, Creation, which is onely proper vnto himself, to make of no thing by the power of his word; Generation, which hee hath allowed to his Creatures themselues, by a naturall instinct and appetite of succession to haue a power of generation; and lastly, Transmutation, whereof hee hath giuen power vnto Starres and to the Spirits, as saith *Thom: de Aquin: Omnes Angeli boni & mali habent ex virtute naturali potestatē transmutandi corpora nostra.* All the Angells, good and bad, haue by a naturall instinct power to change our bodies; wee see how the Sorcerers of *Pharaoh* did counterfet the miracles of *Moses*. *Iob* saith there is no power on earth like vnto that of Satan, which prooues that the actions of the euill Spirits are actions indeed but extraordinarily, so that wee must not thinke

thinke them illusions, or prestigitations of our eyes. *Augustine* chap: 9. of the third booke *de Trinitate*, saith thus: *Mali Angeli pro subtilitate sui sensus in occultioribus elementorum seminibus norunt, vnde rana & serpentes nascuntur & hac per certas temperationum opportunitates occultis motibus adhibendo faciunt creari.* The wicked Angells by their subtle sense and knowledge of the secret seeds of nature, know by what meanes the Frogs and Serpents are made, and by vsing of certaine tymous temperations they can acceleratate their Creation. Againe they haue power of transportation, whereupon some follow the ignorant *Viretus*, who holdeth it a fortitude of imagination in melancholious women, who apprehend they bee carried with the deuill, albeit antiquity hath esteemed it for a true ground, that seldome doth a woman die of melancholie, or a man of excessiue ioy: for melancholie proceedeth of to much heat and drinesse, and breedeth wisedome as *Galen* saith in his Booke *De atra Bile*, to neither of which two is a woman subiect, being of nature humid, cold, and passiue, and therefore not wise, as *Solomon*, among a thousand men one, among women none. Besides that the Septentrinall people with whom the vncleane spirits are said to be most familiar, they haue as little melancholie as those haue of flegme, who dwell in Africke, which sheweth the leuitie and weakenesse of this opinion of *Viret*: Alwayes there be two sorts of transportations, one in bodie and spirit, the other in abstraction onely of the spirit, as to say *Ezekiel* was rapt in his spirit from Babel to Ierusalem, it might be in spirit or in body. The Hebrew Doctours hold in their remote Theologie, that the Angels make oblation to God of the soules of his Saints, who become dead by way of this abstraction, alleadging for it this passage of the 116. *Psalme*, *Speciosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum suorum*, Pretious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints, but to denie that transportation which is both in body and spirit, were to denie the Scripture, *Eliah*, *Enoch*, *Abacucke*,

were transported, and in the Euangelists, our Sauiour corporally transported by Satan, to the pinacle of the Temple, and after vpon a mountaine: The best Theologes hold, that *Habacucke* was indeed soule and bodie transported, and so Saint *Philip* the Apostle, whereupon *Thomas Aquinas* reasoneth thus: If it bee possible in one, it is also possible in moe: and in like maner, both he, and *Durand Herne*, & S. *Bonauenture* do make this argument. If Satan can abstract the spirit from the body, much more can he transport both, because the separation is more miraculous of the two, and is next vnto the veritie of Gods word, the strongest argument we haue for the immortality of the soule, and an argument subiected to reason; For saith *Aristotle* in his ninth booke *De Animalibus*, if the soule can doe any thing without the body, then it should be immortall, alwayes this Aphairisis, Exstasis, or ablation of the soule, is a thing most vndoubtable: the Scripture approueth it in diuers places, specially in the persons of Saint *Paul* and Saint *Iohn*, the greatest Philosophers haue acknowledged it, *Plato*, and *Socrates* did call the bodie, *Antrum animæ*: the cauerne of the soule, the chiefest Sorcerers who know it by experience haue acknowledged it, *Zoroaster* did call the body the sepulchre of the spirit, and the great *Orpheus* did call it the prison of the soule, and to reason euen naturally, we see that locall motion can be some times without touching of bodies, but onely by vertue of the agent, as the sea is mooued by the moone, which is distant from it more, then 50000. Leagues, and the Iron is drawen to mooue by Magnes or the Loadstone, without any touching, which being so in things so insensible and Inanimal as Iron, much more it may be in things not onely animal: but who haue their greatest force and vigour in that locall abstraction, as our soules be most *Galliard*, when they be most remote from the body: And for this point of Satans power to transport, I say, that while that Cherubin which moues the eight Spheare, wherein there

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fixed ſtars, doth role it Millions of miles in one houre: what matter is there of admiration, if Satan can tranſpore a body ſome few miles vpon the earth.

Laſtly, there is the commerce or copulation of good and bad ſpirits with men and women, and whether it be really, locally, or per exſtatin, experience doth commonly teach vs, that ſundry things which we may call ſpirituall (becauſe they are inuiſible and intouchable) doe take really poſſeſſion of our bodies, as the paſſion of loue, which entering by the ſubtile ſpirits of the eyes, doth wound the heart, corrupt the blood, weaken the vitall faculties, and ſometimes ſpoyle the life; yea, the vehemencie of loue towards God, hath oftentimes hereby wrought as much in his beſt Saints. Againe, the plague of peſtilence, and ſuch cotagious things doe enter in a mans body in a ſpirituall ſort to poſſeſſe it. The Scripture doth teſtifie this reall, and locall copulation of good ſpirits with good men; our bodies are ſaid to be the Temples of the holy Ghoſt: Our Sauiour hath ſaid that the father and he would dwell in him, who obey his will. The Prophet *Ezekiel* ſpeaking of his vocation by God, to preach to the Iewes, I fell downe ſaid he vpon my face, and the ſpirit which entered in me, did raiſe me vp, and ſet me on foote. In like ſort, of euill ſpirits, the euill ſpirit of the Lord is ſaid to enter into *Saul* really, and the ſpirit of Satan into *Iudas*, and our Sauiour did eiect diuers reall and ſenſible deuils, becauſe their voyces were heard: The odds and diſtinction of theſe in my opinion is this, the good ſpirits hath more celeſtiall and ſubtile bodies, and ſo their poſſeſſion of men and copulation with them being more ſpirituall then others: It is alſo more perceiued by the actions of our ſpirit, then by any change of our bodies: whereas *Demones*, as Saint *Auguſt* in his tenth Booke *De ciuitate Dei*, *Thomas Aquinas in Summa* 2. *Queſti.* 95. *Origen* in his booke περὶ ἀρχῶν, doe affirme, that they be meere corporall, ſo that *Ariſt. Plato* and diuers Philoſophers who diuided them in aereall,

aereall, terreſtriall, and ſubterreſtriall ſpirits, they hold that the two inferiour *ſpecies* of them be in ſome ſort groſſe and elementarie, more remoued from the celeſtiall intelligences of the ſupreme world, and therefore giuen to a wicked commerſe with men and women, by all ſorts of deceitfull and impious ſuggeſtions, whoſe copulations are both bodily, palpable, and viſible, poſſeſſing the bodies ſpecially of women, as groſſe filthy and contagious vapours, breeding inflamation viſible in the hearts and breaſts, mouing, ſwelling, and dumbeneſſe in the tongue, depriuing the organicke faculties of hearing, ſeeing and ſuch like, as daily experience doth teach: Neither let any man imagine the carnall copulation of the euil ſpirits with women to be a thing extaticke or fantaſticke, that enemie ſpirit of whom the Prophet ſaith, *Ad conterendum erit cor eius & ad internecionem gentium*
Iſa. 10. *non paucarum*: whoſe heart ſhall bee bent for the ouerthrow and deſtruction of many nations and people, hee delighteth to defile or extinguiſh the ſeed of man euen in the mothers wombe: ſo farre that the profound naturalliſt *Paracelſus* affirmeth, that thoſe groſſe and vncleane ſpirits of deuils doe mixe themſelues with humane ſeed, where it is loſt, by naturall weakeneſſe, or nocturnall dreames, that they doe cooperate with it to produce thereby thoſe ſuccumbent, or incumbent ſpirits, deuils, which are found chiefly in the moyſtie and Northen Regions: To which abomination it ſeemeth the lawe of God hath ſome relation, where it is ſaid, that all theſe who ſhould couple themſelues with the deuill *Peor* ſhould periſh wickedly, and who will marke theſe places in *Exod. Leuit. Deut.* Where ſorcerie and brutall *Paliardiſe* or luxurie is forbidden, will find vncouth and vnknown villanies couertly touched, as there where it is ſaid you ſhall not preſent to God the wages of a harlot, nor the price of a dogge, and againe where God doth ſay: you ſhall no more ſacrifice vnto thoſe Buckes and Satyrs after whom you went a whoring: which I doe not heere

heere introduce impertinently nor curiously, but that wee may learne to reuerence whatsoeuer meanes the Lord hath appointed for vs to withstand the malice of Satan, which is so dangerous for two respects.

First, because of his craft and skilfulnesse, who can change himselfe into what creatures hee will, change creatures in what forme he will, can transport our spirits and bodies, can enter to possesse them, can counterfait creatures like to our selues by his wicked abusing of humane seed: againe, his malice is dangerous by reason of the multitude of seditious spirits, who hee doth command, so farre, that some alleadge that euery man hath his good and euill Dæmon, which for my part I will not affirme, it is enough that the Scripture maketh mention of diuerse diuels who haue practised diuerse wickednes: Some are called by *Esay*, *Vasa furoris*, the vessell of fury: Some by *Ieremy*, the vessels of wrath, some by *Ezechiel*, *vasa interfectionis*, the vessels of murther, some by *Moses*, the vessels of iniquity: some of them haue aiery bodies and power in that Element, as those foure which had the windes in their hands, *Quibus datum est nocere mari & terræ*, to whom it was giuen to trouble the earth and the seas, by gendring of pestilence, and destroying thunders, as that of *Iob*, which suddenly threw downe his house, which sort of aiery diuels, is said to inuade the intellectuall spirits of men, to seduce them to Heresie, or ambitious faction in State, and of this kinde he is esteemed the Prince who is called ἀπολλύων ἀδάσσων, or exterminans: others againe that bee more earthly doe trafficke with base sorceries, as those who taught the enchanters of *Pharaoh*: vnto all which the Lord hath opposed millions of good Angels to gouerne his workes, and to presidiate and gard the Saints, & so many to rule the spheares Celestiall, which we may perceiue by *Ezechiel*, and in the sixtie eight Psalme, where it is said, the Chariots of the Lord are 20000. Angels, and hee is among them as in the sanctuary of Sion: whereupon

Isa. 12. Ierem. 50. Ezech. 9. Gen. 49.

the Chaldean interpreters say, that there bee so many principall lights in heauen, and as many Angels to gouerne them, and *Leo Hebreus* hath written in his second Booke, that the eight heauen, or *primum mobile*, which maketh his course in twenty foure houres, is moued by a Cherubin with such miracolous swiftnesse, that euery moments motion ariseth to more then a million of miles. And of the Angelike care of the Saints of God on earth, the Scriptures are full of testimonies, that which guarded the Israelites comming from Egypt, that which wrastled with *Iacob* and blessed him, that Seraphin which purged the lips of *Esay* and made him eloquent, that *Raphael* whose presence *Asmodeus* cannot abide, those Angels who carried *Lazarus* into the bosome of *Abraham*, that which deliuered S. *Peter* out of prison, that which went with *Azarish* into the furnace, and made him thinke the flames a soft deaw, and so forth.

The Lord God doth not only furnish vs with spirituall armes against Satan: as by the power of his Angels, by the force of his word, and by our faith in Christ: but he hath taught vs some familiar things which they cannot indure in nature as is thought; as the fire, whose presence doth terrifie him by a mysterious antipathy, as the presence of the Wolfe astonisheth a Sheepe, because God who is his enemy is a fire, a lampe, a *light* of glory and power to the godly; a fire of loue, mercy and goodnesse, and to the wicked a consuming fire of wrath and vengeance: and as by a naturall strife the voyce of a tyrannous Schoolemaster, doth affraye a wayward childe, so doth the sound of musicall instruments, accompanied with the praises of God, afflict and terrifie the diuell by a naturall *Antipathy*, wherewith God hath indued them. Againe, the harmony of musicke doth by a naturall simpathy collect, and vnite the distracted powers of our weake mindes to greater strength and deuotion, and is *quasi vehiculum* the conduct of deuotion. We read of the Prophet *Elisha*, who being for sent to prophe-

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fie the issue of the battell, he would not doe it vntill hee first caused to sound vp an instrument of musicke, and then he fell into his Prophesie: wee read likewise that when *Samuel* had consecrated king *Saul*: Goe (said hee to him) to the Mountaine and thou shalt finde a company of Prophets who sound instruments and prophesie, thou shalt enter among them, and the spirit of God shall come vpon thee there, and thou shalt bee changed into another man: the reason of this naturall antipathy betwixt *Musicke* and the Diuell is, because it is a diuine thing which draweth the spirit to harmony, concord, loue, and heauenly contemplation, and the constitution of his nature is contrary to these, to be seditious, discordant, and implacable.

This whole Fabricke of the world is nothing else but a musicall order of Gods workes, they stand as the Scripture saith, *in numero, pondere & mensura*, by number, weight, and measure. All the creatures are but a musicke, euery one hauing in their kindes, their *Supreme* or *Alt*, their Counter *Base*, and their Tenor, to shew it in few examples. Among the Planets, the austerity of *Saturne*, and the rigour of *Mars* are tempered, and tied together with the serenity of *Iupiter*, as among the Elements, the repugnance of the fire and water are kept in concordance, by the promiscuall qualities of the ayre, and speaking of the inteligentiall world, the Angels are a mediate creature betwixt the diuine Essence and man: man is a mid couple betwixt good and euill spirits, the Ape betwixt man and fourefooted beasts, the *Nriades & Tritons*, which be not things fabulous betwixt men and fishes. The *Hermophrodite* betwixt man and woman, the *Mandrake* betwixt man and plants, betwixt the fruites of the earth, and things which growe within her bowels, there are fruits and cornes petrefied, that is to say naturally shapen in stones, betwixt the earth and the stone *Argillum*, is amid couple, betwixt earth and mettals the *Marcasita* are neither of them, but a

mediate thing, so that, as that diuine Philosopher, *Iesus* the sonne of *Syrac*, hath obserued in his Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, there is first a common antitheſis and contradiction in all the workes of God, *Omnis via Domini secundum dispositionem sapientiæ suæ*: Duo contra vnum, *vnum contra vnum: contra malum, bonum, contra vitam mors, contra virum iustum peccator, & sic intuere in omnia opera altissimi*, saith the Scripture in that place; All the waies of God according to the disposition of his owne wisedome, two against *one*, one against *one*, *good* against *euill*, *life against Death*, the *iust man* against the reprobate, and so looke into all the workes of the most *high*, saith hee, which in effect is so true, that there is nothing in the world which can fall into our imagination wanting this contrariety, but God againe hath made a concordance in all by this diuine *Musick*, not only in naturall substances, but in their qualities and accidents, yea in time it selfe. Summer and Winter be contrary, but by the harmony of the spring time they are conioyned: blacke and white contrary do meet in mediate colours, heate and cold againe contrary agree in tepidity, swift and slow doe meet in a temperate motion, the austerity of *Hannibal*, and the meeknesse of *Fabius* agree in mid constitutions: In end, there is nothing which wanteth this sweet combination and harmony, except Satan and his following spirits, betwixt whom and God, betwixt whom and his Saints, betwixt whom & goodnes, peace, concord, loue, and vnity, there is no knot nor euer shall be: but being of their proper corruption enemies to God and nature, rebellious, factious, malitious spirits of discordance, and distraction, they doe naturally abhorre the sound of *Harmony* and *Musicke*. So that for that point of vnion with the Church of England, which standeth in the restitution of the *Organs*, I thinke this will suffice apparantly to perswade any well disposed and iudicious man, who hath not his braine *fix in Symbolis mute sonantibus*, as I haue said before.

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Now I come to the ceremonie of the Clericall habit which is in the Church of England, & forbearing to reason in generall of the expediency and good and necessarie vse of graue and Maiestique ceremonies in the publike actions of state and ciuill gouernment, without which it were not so easie to procure and maintaine popular reuerence to any authoritie whatsoeuer, and which be a true edification in Gods Church, if not of our vnderstanding, yet of our affections, when our dull and secure mindes are stirred vp to a greater measure of reuerence and deuotion, through beholding the exteriour Maiesty of Religious Ceremonies, onely for the Church Minister his habit in particular I wil deliuer my opinion in sobriety thus. There was neuer any age in the world which did not distinguish Counsellours and State-rulers from the people, and the religious professours from the Laity, by their robes peculiar to themselues, as God we see himselfe did institute *Aarons*. Therefore now, while Christian Pastours be more truely venerable and reuerent, because their function holdeth nothing of types but is perfect, to say that they should not haue an honourable and comely apparell proper to them, and not permitted to be carried of others, it is meerely idle and absurd. That he who is sequestred from the ordinary ciuill vocations in the world and consecrated to God, who is the intercessour and mediatour of the people vnto the throne of grace, to offer our spirituall sacrifice, to be secret and in a sort familiar with God, that such a sacred person, place, and calling should not be cloathed with externall markes of sanctitie and holy profession, which markes ought not to be assumed by ciuill men. I doe perswade my selfe that no man will affirme it. Of Clericall vestiments.

Which ground being true in the generall, to come to a speciall consideration of the Church-vestiment and to a comparison betwixt the white surplis and the blacke gowne, I would say the cullours be either indifferent or not indifferent, if they bee indifferent, then there is no

great matter of debate, but for vnities sake, wee ought rather to embrace that which our neighbour Church haue receiued from orthodoxall antiquitie, then that they ought for our sake, to follow that which is more late, If they be not indifferent, then the minister ought to carry that colour, which of the two is most sutable to his person, but I subsume that the white is most sutable in his person, therefore it is most fitting that hee bee cloathed therewith, my assumption I take to be true for these reasons, the white is most decent, most ancient, and most vsefull in the Church.

For the first the decency of Apparell standeth in two points, one is in that which doth most viuely represent to our mindes the nature of a mans calling, his degree or age, as the readdish colour doth fit a soldier, and the black a Schooleman and such like, another is in that which doth best distinguish a particular professour from all others of different callings, the first of the two doth note a man himselfe in his own property, the second doth note the discrepance of other men from him: For distinction of seuerall professours, wee must confesse the white is more decent for a Pastour, because the blacke gowne is common to the Physician, to the Lawyer, the Schoolman and the Preacher, and is not forbidden to any whosoeuer: And for noting the discrepance of the properties of our professions, the white is much more significant of Pastorall function then the black as I shall shew heereafter.

For the second touching antiquity, the white is ancient in the Church, *S. Chrysost.* maketh mention of it in his time, speaking of the grauitie of the administration of the Sacraments, *Hom. ad pop. Antioch.* 60. for if (saith he to the priests) a beast whose mouth were polluted with filthines should come to drink in a cleere fountain whereof ye had vse or benefit, ye would not suffer him to lay downe his mouth, and why will yee suffer those who bee defiled with odious and abominable vices to put downe their

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mouthes in the pure fountaine of Christs blood, *Hæc vestra dignitas* (saith hee) *hæc securitas, hæc omnis corona, non quod album & splendentem tunicam induti circumeatis*, In your conscientious distribution of the holy Sacrament, is your dignitie, your security, and the crowne of your glory more then in that white and splendid Coate which yee carry in the administration of them, as if one should say to a scholler graduate in the vniversity, your honour & reputation which you haue abroad, lieth not so much in the gowne, or hood, or scarlet roabe which you weare, as in the learning & endowment which ye shew in your disputations and writings, so as from such speech may be gathered; that in the vniversities such habits are vsed for distinction and ornament in degrees of schoole, euen so it is cleerely seene by those words of *Chrisostome*, that the Church seruice in his time and before him hath been adorned with such vestiments; And Saint *Hierom*, *Contra Pelag.* against those who in his time did despise the white Clericall vestiments, what a madnesse (saith he) is that to count it enimity with God, if a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, goe cloathed in their comely white roabe in the seruice of God.

For the third, that the white is more vsefull, it appeareth this way, speaking of a pastorall habit the white hath a more easie open & vnderstandble interpretation then the blacke: The blacke wee knowe is a mourning habite, where as the white representeth ioyfulnesse, and therefore is most proper to him who bringeth the glad tydings of the Gospell, while as their is a simpathie betweene his colors and his commission: We doe find in the Scripture often mention of white for a sacred and holy apparell, but neuer of the blacke, if the Angels of God, who be his heauenly Ministers haue appeared before men in their ministration cloathed in white, to say that those who bee sacred ministers of the mysteries of Gods Church heere vpon earth, cannot finde more diuine shapes or colours to appeare in before the world, it

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is an interpretation not extorted, but plaine and sensibly offered out of the nature of the thing it selfe. And as it is necessarily required, in speciall aboue the rest, in the Minister, that when hee vttereth to God the publique prayers of the Church, to which they doe resound their *Amen*, and administreth the holy Sacraments, that then he must come with fore-thought and fore-sought purity of soule and bodie, both free from other studies, and other actions, which at other times were not to bee blamed, is it not expedient also, that with his inward sanctitie, hee shall bring an exterior shew thereof, to purchase the greater reuerence of the people, and to season their mindes with holy apprehensions, and with present desires to consort inwardly in their hearts with that visible habite of puritie and integritie which they doe contemplate in his person.

Wherefore it was a custome in the primitiue Church, as wee may read in many of the Fathers, that all those, who being *Catechumeni* presented themselues to Baptisme, should be arrayed in white, whereupon this title hath growne of *Dominica in albis*, white-sunday, wherein wee may consider the iudgement of the purer age of the Church, who thought it expedient, that by the inward candor and integritie, which the concurring grace of God, the soule and the whole person of the baptized did receiue being dipped and drenched in the lauar of regeneration, should be not onely infixed by faith in the inward apprehension of the minde of the receiuer, but also testified by that publike and pure marke of whitenesse vnto others their spectators, and brethren partakers formerly of the same new birth; whereby wee see, what extent the authoritie and iudgement of the guides and gouernours in Gods Church hath, in things, though not enacted nor imposed by the writings or constitutions of the Apostles, yet afterward thought expedient, for the better edifying and furnishing the people of God, in externall, and in a sort ceremoniall additaments,

ments, which of themselues, being not superstitious, but hauing a holy, sober, and wholesome vse of instruction, and reuerence in the sacred duties of the church (though perhaps not onely afterward, but euen then, they might by some priuate misinterpretation of superstitious and ignorant men be abused) were by the most and best, instituted, maintayned, and reteyned, being indeed not to be abrogated but by the same hand which set them vp.

But to prosequute my argument for the white vestiment of the Pastor, in shewing how it is vsefull and properly significant, I say all the varieties of *Aarons* robe were contriued by intermixing a fine white linnen, as you may read. Whensoeuer mention is made of Christ clothed, it is either in glory and light, or in white lynnen; *Induit enim stola gloriæ, amictus erat lumine sicut vestimento*, *Ezech*: 9. when Commission was giuen to fixe destroying Angels against Ierusalem, the man who stood in the midst hauing power to saue the Saints, who wept for Ierusalem (no doubt *Iesus Christ*) he was clothed in white Lynnen. It is clearely said of Christ, *Bissus & purpura indumentum eius*, white lynnen and purple, euen so it is said in the Apocalyps of the Church, *Mulier illa amicta erat purpura & Bysso*, that woman was clothed with purple and white lynnen. The white lynnen doth represent puritie and innocencie, therefore it is said in the Apocalyps, *Byssinum sunt iustificationes Sanctorum*, the iustification of the Saints is as white and fine lynnen pure and perfect, so that if any man will say that the robe of *Aaron* was altogether a Iewish type, and that Clericall vestiments are of no respect after the comming of Christ, I thinke it idle, that Candlestick of the Arke which was clothed with the Hyacinth and celestiall colour, likely might be a Type which is abolished, or what did carrie the scarlet and reddish colour in that Robe, it may bee holden expired, because it did figure the passion which is performed; or in like manner, what was partie-coloured, as *Ioseph* who alwaies figured Christ, he was a Type Apoc: 18. 19.

also by reason of his coate sprinkled with blood, as it is in Ezechiel, *sumpsisti vestimenta multicoloria*; and againe, *Quare vestimentum tuum rubrum est?* you haue chosen a Robe which is particoloured, what meaneth it thy garments are red? Certes, as these colours were figuratiue, so are they expired, *Ioseph* hath changed his Coate. The text of Genesis saith, *mutauerunt vestes eius & ipsum induerunt Bisso*, Pharoah commanded to change his garments and to clothe him in fine white lynnen, and Christ hath also changed his garments into meere whitenesse and iustification, as I haue said, and his Church hath changed her garments into white, *Bissus indumentum eius, & mulier illa amicta erat Bisso.* And therefore hath the Wiseman said in Ecclesiast: *omni tempore sint vestimenta tua candida*: so that nothing can be so fitting for a Priestly and Pastorall habit, as the the garment of Christ himselfe, and of his Church in the holy Scripture.

Ezech: 16.

Eccles: 9.

In which respects it seemes that wee are to reuerence antiquitie, and to thinke that not without graue causes they haue brought in that Ceremonie into Christs Church, and left it vnto vs. For whether it was deriued from the Iewish Church or no, I doe not dispute, but who would not say that the Leuiticall vestiments were rather things depending from the policie, then figuratiue Ceremonies expiring in the exhibition of Christ. I would aske him of those Pomgrannets & Bells which were tyed to the fringe of *Aarons* robe, to signifie that in Priestly actions there should bee continually a good smell, and from their mouthes a perpetuall sound of pietie in our eares, and of those twelue gemmes planted vpon the breastplate of *Aaron* with a Diamond in the midst, which was the most principall, conspicuous, and pretious part of the Robe, what these did figure in his person, which is not yet most proper and conuenient to bee figured by vestiments in the person of a Christian Prelate, whereupon *Epiphanius* Archbishop of Cyprus, and after him *S. Ierom* haue made these obseruations,

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vpon these texts of Exod: & Leuit: The Gemmes first being excellent things of rare constitution doe note the dignitie of the priestly Function. Secondly, they signifie the doctrine and christian vertues which should be in him who carrieth that dignitie, that euen as those gemmes haue their secret and miraculous operations, so should Prelates and Priests by the secret inspiration of Gods spirit, bee able to worke in people miraculous and extraordinarie effects of Gods feare and obedience. Thirdly, as these Gemmes are full in out eyes, of a celestiall beautie and splendor, so should the cariage of religious men shine in our eyes, for a cleare mirrour and example, that when we looke into it we may by the light thereof discerne our owne blots and darknes. Fourthly, as the gemmes haue diuine and admirable formes but small matter, and that a substance more cœlestiall then earthly, as wee see. Euen so Prelates and Priests ought not to be so earthly as other men are, drowned in mortal passions, spotted with ambition, pride, and auarice, defiled with lust or other fleshly concupiscences, whereunto the greatest part of men are obnoxious, but they should all consist of spirituall formes, and of the puritie of exemplarie sinceritie, like vnto Angelicall and diuine creatures. Fifthly, as the gemmes haue sympathising qualities with the spirit of man, in a sort, as if they were animal creatures, that they will not onely change their proprieties and colours, at any great chance which hapneth vnto men, but they presege and forewarne our capitall dangers, they redeeme vs from them, as it were by giuing themselues for our ransome, they cannot endure that by brutish luxurie wee should bee turned into beasts, things which neither Theologie, nor Philosophie make doubt of, as being approued by daily experience. The *Coral* being carried by diseased persons changeth the colour to better or worse, according to the change of their disease. The *Turquins* in great perill of mans life bursteth in peeces. The *Diamond* hath a

virtue to encourage the heart against feare or doubts. The Saphir to stirre vp the mind to deuotion, wherefore it is vsually carried by Prelates and religious men, as wee see, the Smerald to banish the spirit of lust, & to temper that affection in men, wherunto it is opposed by a secret antipathie, that *Albertus* writes how a king of Hungarie who delighted greatly in a rare stone of this kind, one night after he had committed some acte of abominable lust, he found it broken in three pieces: and of *Nero* who tooke such pleasure in the Smerald, that it was called the Iewell of *Nero*, carrying vpon his thumbe one of huge quantitie, formed in table, wherein he did from his Pallace see the Amphitheatrall sports, as if he had bin there, and with which he did solace and helpe his sore eyes, a thing proper also to that stone, another night in like sort after some beastly pollution of his body, hee found his Iewell rent in pieces: Euen so Prelates and Priests, who haue the charge of mens soules, they are not only to simpathise with them, by feeling of their miseries, changing from ioy to sorrow for their iniquities, and from sorrow againe to ioyfulnesse for their conuersion: like vnto *Coral*, they are not onely to supplie the place of the Diamond, to inspire into their hearts a courage and constancie in faith, the place of the Saphir to indue them with piety and deuotion, the place of the Smerald to clense them from the filthinesse: but if need be, they must take the place of the Turquine to giue their liues for their flocke, like vnto *Moses*, who for that peoples sake, wished to be raised out of the booke of life, like vnto Saint *Paul*, who wished to be made *Anathema*, for his flocke, and like vnto the glorious Martyrs in the Primitiue Church, and as S. *Augustine* saith vpon the 86. *Psalme*, By these twelue Gems in the *Apocalips*, is meant the Church of Christ, founded vpon the twelue Apostles, and by that royall infrangible Diamond which is in the midst, the eternall stabilitie of the Throne of Christ, which so oft as it hath beene seene by the transported spi-

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rits of the Prophets and Apostles, it appeared in their eyes as these fiery and celestiall Iewels; So that seeing the chiefe doctours of the Church haue so interpreted the brestplate of *Aaron*, we must not thinke that all the ceremonies of his Priestly habite did necessarily expire in the comming of Christ.

Now if wee will say that the Brasen serpent must bee broken powder, the white Surplis is daily abused to Idolatrie in the Papall Church: and therefore it ought to be abolished, certaine if the case were alike, the argument is good, but it is much different: First, the brasen Serpent was the proper and onely obiect of the Idolatrie committed by the Iewes, putting a kind of Dietie in that Serpent, but in the Popes Masse, howsoeuer polluted with diuers superstitions and idolatries; the idolatrous actions therein are not terminated vpon, or intended to, the garment which the Priest weareth, the Surplis being only one of the accidentary adiuncts, which, as it were vpon the by, doe for externall ornament, and for the proper and significant representation, accompany that action, euen as there were tyed to the end of *Aarons* roabe, Pomegranates & bels, as I haue shewen before. And as it was neuer hard, that any spectator of the Masse did adore the Surplis, worne by the Priest, so I thinke none of the most superstitious worshippers of those incarnate wafers, did euer dreame the supposed transubstantiation to bee wrought by the vertue of any operatiue holines inherent in that vestiment.

Secondly, if whatsoeuer kind of attyre (of distinction) was then worne by the Priest in Massing, must bee vtterly abandoned, as polluted with idolatrie: what warrant hath any Minister of the Gospell in Diuine Seruice to weare a blacke gowne, while as Priests doe weare such vnder their Surplices, not wholly couered, but appearing commonly beneath the skirts thereof, and perhaps such Priests haue thought their Masse as vnperfite without a gowne, as without a Surplice.

Thirdly, if we would onely repine at such particular and individuall Surplices, as haue beene blotted with superstitious seruice, the reason were more sutable and probable; as for example, it were euill done to vse for the Sacrament in reformed Churches, that very parcell of bread, which hath beene consecrated to be the *Hostie* of the Masse: yet to take for our vse of that same lumpe, or of that same loafe, before the Papall Consecration thereof, it were no wrong, nor iust scandall, so to take exception against the white vestiment of the Church of England, because of the Idolatrous Surplice of the Papall Church it is sophisticate, *Ab individuo ad speciem*, neuer a man in the Church of England, will hold that the Surplice is operatiue, or doth conferre holinesse: but because it is a comely habite, receiued from antiquitie, and found by them in their Churches, most decent, and most significant of any: therefore doe they carrie it, as also to shew their meeke and ready obedience to the authoritie of their Church and lawes of their state; nor neuer a man of true Christian wisedome, who doth abhorre it, *Eo ipso*, because it is in the Church of Rome. Among the Babilonians there were some sacred vessels of the holy Temple, as is said; but alas for pittie, many of vs doe build the wall of our separation from Rome, to such disproportionable height, that if it stand, wee shall neuer returne to play the true Christians in weeping for the holy Sanctuarie. Such was the simplicitie and sweet simpathy of the greatest doctours of antiquitie, that they would not condemne any thing receiued from their forefathers in the Church, except it was repugnant to Gods word, yea, they would rather turne away their eyes, then looke curiously vpon that which might breed vnto them a scruple against the peace and quietnes of the Church; so were they gouerned with the spirit of charitie: but such is our seuerity now adayes, that we doe looke vpon euery circumstance, with the iealous eyes of *Iuno*, prying into the smallest shadowes of occasions, that are not to

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our humour, so hath one impetuous and vehement zeale extinguished our loue, and too much curiositie drowned our meekenesse, *Confregimus iugum & rupimus vincula*, we haue broken the bonds of Christian concord and harmonie, as is said before.

The holy Spirit of charity should worke among distracted Christians, like vnto that animall spirit of the Magnes, or Loadstone, which although it do banish and chase away Iron by the one end, yet it is mightily attractiue by the other: euen so although we should abhorre the Idolatrous points of the Popish Church, yet by our kindly sympathising with things, which be without error among them: wee should contract and draw them as neere vnto vs as is possible, but all in contrary, the name of Poperie is become more odious to some of vs, then the name of Paganisme: and if we do not loue the Turke more then a Papist, perhaps wee doe lesse hate him, which is the reason why nothing can content vs, but absolute derelinquishment of all and whatsoeuer is into the Church of Rome concerning the worship of God, yea I do thinke there be among vs, who if they knew how the Pope and his Priests doe eate, they would striue to take their meat in an other sort, that they might refuse to him the Communion of nature: But as it were an ignorant part to refuse to eate of delicate and wholesome fruits, because wee doe not see the root whereof they spring, nor the secret conueyes of that moysture which doth nourish them, or to refuse to dwell in splendid and commodious houses, because we doe not see the fundamentall stones whereupon they were builded, euen so, no question, it is an idle and euill part in vs, if we doe not feed vpon the spirituall fruits of the Gospel, peace, loue, and vnanimitie; or if we refuse to dwell in one Arke, because we cannot find to our curiositie all the reasons of the artifice, whereby it hath beene builded: doe not wee contemne the fruits of the Gospel, when by our discrepance in matter of ceremonies, indifferent at least, if not vsefull,

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wee make the Papist to say that the diuision of our language doth testifie that we are the Gyants, who enterprised the Tower of heresie, and when one Pastor doth affirme that his brother within the bowels of one Church and one kingdome doth carrie an idolatrous habite in the seruice of God. yea when a Presbyter doth avouch that his ordinarie Bishop is Antichristian, is not that a scandalous opposition within one particular church, like to the twins of *Rebecca*, who shooke each other in their mothers wombe, whereby she became mightily afraid and dolorous, for if wee doe flatter our selues to thinke these light differences vnworthy the name of separation, wee must remember that small sparkles doe easily concitate a great flame, chiefly when there be such cunning bellowes to set it a fire as the Iesuitique practises which be lurking among vs, as the remanent of the Canaanites among the people of Israel. And to conclude this point I pray God of his mercy, that this kind of vnnecessarie distraction, doe not make vs one day to say as *Cyprian* did, lamenting the Church persecution for the contentions of his time; These euills (saith he) had not come vpon the brethren, if they had been linked together in the brotherly concord.

As concerning the rest of the Ceremonies being in the Church of England, certainely they are not of that weight that wee need to insist on them. And seeing it hath pleased the Lord to blesse these disordered beginnings of our Reformation here in Scotland, by our Reunion with the ancient orthodoxall policie of his Church, why should we not meet this mercifull dealing of God by our voluntarie acceptation of whatsoeuer indifferent Ceremonie not contrarie to Gods word, which is in our neighbour Church? yea rather in the bowells of our owne Church, according to the opinion of learned and sincere Diuines, to the effect that wee may remoue that the obloquie of our enemies, which we vnderlie, why should we not be altogether consentient among

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our selues, to the effect wee may bee the more apt out of Christian loue, to wish and pray for the generall reformation of the holy sanctuary of all Christian people, whereof I will returne to speake, because it is the point from whence did flow this particular *Interim* of our coniunction with the English Church, in indifferent Ceremonies.

CHAP. XIII.

A briefe survay of the States and Princes, which be Catholike Romans and of the possibilities of generall Reformation.

AND because I know that many good and wise men doe hold it a thing meerely parodoxall, to reason of the reformation of Rome: As I haue already spoken of the meanes whereby it ought to be, after the true imitation of the reformation, & the restitution of Ierusalem in three seuerall conditions, so I wil now speak of the likelihood and possibility how they may come to passe. It is true that the Church of Rome wil not willingly follow that example of *Daniel*, to confesse before the Lord that her Pope, her Cardinalls, her Priests, that both her Consistory and her Cloysters, haue declined to fearefull Idolatry and abuses, but what? yet no man will imagine but God hath destinated a time for the reformation of so many Churches as haue dranken of that cup, hee hath hung aboue her head the sword of his great seruant *Mahomet*, wherewith hee hath chastised *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and many other mother Churches, he hath the sword of his omnipotent Word, which hath already wrought admirable effects since the time of *Luther*: If we shall wish her to be reformed by *Mahomets* fury, we shall haue no Christian hearts towards her, nor wisedome towards our selues, if wee shall wish it to bee by

the force of the ſpirituall ſword of Gods Word, wee muſt wiſh it to bee out of Chriſtian loue, and brotherly compaſſion, otherwiſe our wiſhes, our prayers, our preachings are to no effect: exhort in the ſpirit of meeknesse and loue, ſaith the Scripture. As *Abraham* did euen perturbe God in fauour of the Sodomites, that hee would pardon that abominable people for the ſake of tenne men, if there could be found ſo many vpright before him: there be no doubt, in the Church of Rome thouſands of good men, who haue neuer bowed the knees of their hearts to *Baal*, thouſands of deuout ſoules who grone vnder that bondage, languiſhing for their reliefe, for whoſe ſake wee would be heard, if our prayers were founded vpon faith and charity, if it were not that God doth repulſe them becauſe they are mutuall imprecations, as is ſaid, The Lord hath neglected his holy ſanctuary and the pace thereof, hee hath ſuffered his people ſo long to lie in that captiuity of darkneſſe, by reaſon of all our tranſgreſſions.

The Catholike Church is that ſhip, *Quæ agitatur & fluctuat ſed non ſubmergitur*, which is toſſed ſtill with tempeſts, but doth not periſh, her Pilot can preſerue her betwixt *Scylla* and *Carybdis*. And albeit for our iniquities ſhe is become that ſhip of the Goſpell, which was ſo dangerouſly ſhaken with the raging ſeas, while the Diſciples did awake and Chriſt himſelfe did ſleepe, he doth not heare our noyſe, becauſe wee be not aſtoniſhed enough at the tempeſt, becauſe our Chriſtian Doctours on both ſides doe ſit in this ſhip ſecure, as ignorant ſleepers who know not the place of danger, they haue no true zeale to pacification and vnity, like to the ſonnes of *Zebedeus*, ſtriuing for the right hand of Chriſt, ſeeking euery one maliciouſly to condemne his neighbour, craueing mutuall deſtruction and not reformation, which is the reaſon why our Sauiour doth ſleepe: or if he heare vs, hee giues vs the anſwere hee gaue to them, *Neſcitis quid petitis*: You know not what you aske. If wee were

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right afraide of the fearefull storme, if wee did feare the inundations of these waters, which haue already ouerflowed the Christian Churches of the Orient, and if we did cry with these watchfull Disciples, Lord wee doe all perish if we be not strengthened with domesticke vnion. Then *Iesus Christ* no question would awake to pacifie the seas. Albeit our faith be weake that wee despaire of a generall reformation, yet certainely the Lord would not suffer the ship of his Catholike Church, to bee deuoured with the tempest, but if Christian Pastors could lay aside their malice & implacable contentions, to beg from God peace and concord, hee can lead vs by the hand through those flouds of discord, to place vs in the barke of vnity, to giue vs the answere which he gaue vnto *Peter, Modica fidei quare dubitasti?* O yee of little faith why doe yee so much doubt, *Quis confusus sperauit in Domino & confusus est*; If Christian people could do this, the meanes of vniuersal reformation were both easie and ordinary, as I will shortly shew you.

Such is the credit of the primitiue Church, for three or foure hundred yeres, that there is not a learned Doctor on either side, who is not content to say, that shee may be iudge in all controuersies, either touching Doctrine, Policy, or Ceremonies: nor is there any so impudent, who will derogate from that age for Christian reformation: They indeed who feede vpon the fatnesse of the Papall tyranny, they will decline the tryall, suspend so farre as lies in them the conuocation of generall Commissions, or illude them being assembled.

But to take exception against the primitiue Church: no, so that nothing is wanting but the meanes of generall Conuocations, which as I haue before discoursed at length, doth properly pertaine to Christian Princes, *Cor regis in manu Dei*, whensoeuer it should please God to inspire these three Monarchies of Christendome, to intend vniuersall reformation, his Maiesty of great Brittanne, the French King, and the Spaniard: I thinke no

Christian should be found to put opposition: any man wil confesse this, The distraction indeed of these Christian Princes, is the mystery of Papall ambition, and so studiously entertained by the seat of Rome, that one may say, we haue long to looke for that influence which must proceed from so extraordinary coniunction of these chiefe Planets: and I answere once for my aduantage, that whensoeuer any of the two last Kings, shall ioyne themselues to our most gracious Soueraigne, it shall suffice to sway the ballance, and to ouercome all oppositions. But I keepe mee on the ground, holding that present state of things doeth equally impose vpon all Christian Princes, a meere necessitie of this concurrance to reforme the Church of Rome, because they bee equally distressed thereby: for while as vnto their predecessours did belong a right to conuocate Councels and to presidiate in them, hauing in their hands the raynes of Christian gouernment, as is before largely proued. Now Rome hath so farre delighted in her owne beauty, that shee hath drawne the whole splendor of the world vpon her selfe, and hath trampled on the necks of the greatest Kings, as she, to whom it was said, *Dabo tibi potestatem in Gentes, & reges eas in virga ferrea, & sicut vasa figlina conterentur*: And this hath shee done so openly and insolently as you haue heard, by violenting both Princes, Prelates, and religious orders within her owne bowels, that in our time, and in our eies, her pride mounted to the Meridiã or Tropick, frõ whence by the very destiny of the instability of this inferiour world, she must returne to decline againe: so that this common iniury done by her in common to all Christian Kings, whom God hath deputed to be Pilots within the ship of his Church, doth force them to attention and ielousie, and draweth on this great *Iubile* of generall reformation: And I presume it from this warrant, that all the States in Christendome which bee Catholike Romane, doe feele the grieuous burden of her tyrannous yoake;

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as farre as those who bee opponents to her in matter of doctrine and pure religion.

These Catholike States I comprehend in 5 the Estate Emperiall, the French, the Spaniard, the Venetian, and lastly the Dutchies within Italy. The story of the French calamities, is so fresh, that I neede not renew it, how that braue and puissant Kingdome hath beene put in combustion by these prophane fires of Rome, and almost burnt into Funerall ashes, her Princes murdered, her lawes dissolued, her people massacred, her Churches violated, her cities desolate, and in such a case as Rome was in, when the Poet said of it *desunt quæ manus poscentibus armis*. That the Venetians haue been equally with the French attainted, albeit not equally wounded, it is as notorious by their late dissentions for the Abassie of Polliss. and for the expulsion of the Iesuites from their dominions, and both haue equally shaken of the bondage of Rome, disclaiming and forbidding in their Territories the execution of the Counsell of Trent, and wishing an vniuersall reformation, it is well vnderstood of those who know the world, and I beare witnesse for one, to haue heard many amongst them of chiefe marke Catholike Romans to protest the same with much zeale; As for the house of Austria with whom is established the Empire, although it be the fountaine of that *Domo regnatrice* the mother of the Spanish domination, yet any man may finde that her constant feares both of intestine and externall dangers haue so weakened it for want of perfect repose, that there is no State in Christendome whereunto an vniuersall pacification would bring more happinesse.

As for the Dukes of Italy there be only two of importance: The Duke of Sauoy who with the allies of his house, the Dukes of Mantua and Modena haue their owne *Cordoglio* and grecuance against the grandure of Rome, and the coniunction thereof with Spaine, as may be well perceiued by these late tempests amongst them:

And the great Duke of Tuscan, who, although first hee be next neighbour to the Pope, and secondly, that he be the first of these who haue growen fat vpon the reuersions of *S. Peters* Trencher, his whole estate being contriued by Popes or Cardinals of his house, and thirdly, although he be lately allied with the house of Austria, yet for all these, this open and shameleſſe insolence of Rome vrged not long since against the Segniory of Venice, hath made him *Sueglato* to stirre and rouse vp his eares so far, that against and in spight of this Iesuiticall insidiation which threatneth Christian Potentates, hee hath made a Law, that no lands, rents nor mooueables aboue a beggerly portion should be legacied to any Church person, Iesuite or other without his approbation added thereunto.

It followeth to speake of Spaine, which although it hath for many yeeres past, beene the principall arch of the papall pride, yet when wee consider how farre that great King hath beene frustrated of the ends propounded to him by these who haue beene the chiefe tiers of him to the Seate of Rome, I doe also presume that for good respects he may haue disposition to fall away from the Idoll of her dangerous ambition: Becaus the Iesuite (as is sayd) hauing a chiefe Maxime, that Religion must shoote out and flourish with a growing state, and finding Spaine most enclined to Monarchy, as he doth imagine, hath deuoted himselfe to the seruice of that Crowne, that by the encrease thereof his society may likewise grow, and beare authority throughout the world, and from this scope hath hee beene, and still studieth to bee the authour and broacher of many Christian calamities, and euer so vnfortunate for the Spaniard whom hee pretendeth to aduance, that in place of strengthning his dominions, the Iesuite hath beene a cankering worme to rippe the bowels of the same, and to plague them with consuming feauers of ambitious aspiring. By the Iesuiticall documents were the braue seauenteene Prouinces of

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the Netherlands so entreated of his Deputies, that as one taken with *S. Anthonies* fire, hee hath beene constrained to cut them off being one of his most noble members, after he had sent from his treasures of Spaine about one hundred million of gold to cure the same. By the Iesuiticall infusion was likewise moulded in fauours of their monarchicall projects, that holy league which stoode him so deare in France, and whereof hee hath seene the like vnfortunate Issue, for they hauing spent a world of money about the surprize of that Kingdome, so did God despise the iniquity of these masked designes, that he did make the restauration of that Land a miracle of this Age, being once in such broken weakenesse, and in so short a time firme like a Diamond, and terrible to their Enemies. But with the most maigre and poore fortune of all did they embarke their ambition, for the conquest of England, where he did not onely lose his (*Inst ar mun-dis equum*) that inuincible called *Armada*, but in place to conquer the same, they doe finde themselues now counterpoysed on this hand by a mighty Monarch, who like to armed *Pallas* carrieth for his owne defence a sword in the one hand, and a pen in the other: Summarily, that puissant King hath beene redacted to spoile his treasures, and spend his time by the craft of those *Archi-charlatans* the Iesuites, who like deceipfull Alcumists consuming euery thing vnder a vaine hope to make golde, haue extenuated the body of his estate with the poysonable smoake of their Mercury, so farre, that if it had not beene the Christian candor and sincerity of our most gracious Soueraigne, to establish his peace first with England, and next with Holland, there is no doubt but before now his late domesticke conspiracies of his *nouos Christianos* or *Moriscos in Valentia* conioyned to his exteriour diseases, had sufficed to render him a neighbour pray: That all these Sincops haue beene bred to him by the pride of Rome, and by the Iesuiticall arts, it is cleerly seen of those, who going through the world haue known

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the remonstrances, inuectiues, Apologies, and other politicall insinuations, which haue beene published for strengthening of factions, chiefely who hath seene that Platonick iest of Doctor Parsons an English Iesuit his treatise directed with the foresayd *Armada*, prescribing the order of the new state of England, and the Lawes of the first Parliament to be holden after their landing, so mightily was he possessed with that fancie, which did euer after make him a fugitiue from Spaine, and abhorred as an abuser and treacherous Alchumist, and for these causes it would seeme, That of all Princes the Spaniard hath greatest reason to beware of the follies and falshoode of Rome, the maintenance whereof hath so endangered his Kingdomes, while in the meane time the Pope and his Cardinals *pigliano buon tempo*, make merry daies sitting in the calme of their Consistory, giuing order to the Legions abroad, as *Nero* and other voluptuous Emperours, who succeeding *Augustus* were for a while heires to his dominions but not to his vertue.

Furthermore the Pope draweth more deniers foorth of the states of Spaine, then of all the world besides, notwithstanding the great reuenues Ecclesiastical of Spaine, where the Church of Tolledo will amount to sixe hundred thousand crownes, whereof more then the halfe is proper to the Arch-Bishop himselfe, diuerse of the rest being not farre vnder this, and all in great condition for riches, neuertheless are the greatest part of things so absolute in the Popes will, and so hardly granted to naturall Spaniards, that before any of them can bee beneficed in the Church, hee must attend at Rome seauen yeares at least, at his owne charges, and that with splendour to beautifie the Court, & shall not neither haue it in the end but with yerely pension giuen out of more then the third part at least, to some of the Popes cozens or fauorites, so that they are daily heard to affirme that scarcely in all their life time will they redeeme their losses, and in the meane time that Court is neuer without thousands of

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those poore *Pretendenti* who follow *Mon Seigneur Illustriss. gratis*, liuing vpon the smoake of Alchumie or vmbragious hopes; Would not any man thinke that those bee recall distastes to so powerfull a Monarch, for howsoeuer the late King *Philip* was abused by the Iesuiticall subtilties, yet through a great deale of bitter experience the case is now come to a manifest discouery of intollerable inconueniencies, for if that King being so mighty and full of experience was not able to beare through the Iesuiticall machinations against the late Queene of England, and against a dismembred and desperate state of France, how shall he who now is there so good and so deuote a Prince, thinke his throne to be sure to his successours against the chances of the world which we now see, vnlesse he will concurre to extinguish that fire which hath blowen abroad so terrible flames against his neighbours to the end it may approach the more fearefully to himselfe.

May not wee imagine, that it is a great heart-sore to him, to see his fellowes so absolute Kings, his Maiesty of great Britaine like to *Salomon* disposing at his pleasure of the Leuiticall functions within the house of God, the Church of France from all antiquitie hauing her liberties exempted from Papall Hierarchie, both those Kings auowedly defying that pretended Soueraignty, while as he, one of the first Christian Monarches, doth vnderlie the yoake of Priestly Domination: For as touching this late practice of Cardinall *Perone*, whereby hee hath so much strained his wits to staine the glory of the French Crowne, and to render the ancient, Christian, and famous priuiledges thereof obscure and problematicke (as he speakes) that is but an illusion of the Romane Circe, cast in to abuse the weakenesse of feminine and childish gouernment, which will soone appeare in the owne colours to any Prince in perfection, to be an act of perfidious treachery against the strength and reputation of that braue nation, as it is already both cleerely and cunningly

ningly charactered, by the truly royall answer and defence made by our most gracious Soueraigne for his neighbour King *in minoribus*, & for all Christian Kings in generall, against that serpentine and disloyall Oration of the aforesaid Cardinall. Alwaies that iealousie and distraction is easie to grow betwixt Spaine and Rome. This is a strong reason for it, and approued by experience; The Spaniards doe already possesse the richest patrimonies of *S. Peter*, Sicilia and Naples: that if a violent and headie Pope doe recounter a troubled estate in Spaine, it is like enough they will redemaund these, whereof the proofe was seene in the person of Pope Sixto Quinto, who fauoured *Henry* the third of France against the holy League for that same cause; vpon the other side we are to presume from the like reason, that the Spaniard hath no better meanes to possesse these things securely, then by clipping the winges of the Popish pride, since he hath already gotten the fatnesse of his pot; Experience hath in like manner qualified this, *Carolus Quintus* of Spaine, and *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* his Successors in the Empire, had no greater studies in their times, then to haue reformed the Church of Rome for Christian peace, and for their owne securitie, as is more particularly before rehearsed, the misgiuing whereof did breed so great griefe to himselfe before his death, and so great displeasure to his posteritie thereafter.

One other point maketh me to apprehend this disposition of the world to Catholike reformation; The whole Clergie of Rome is a thinking how to supplant the Iesuiticall Trafficke, and to extirpate those plagueful weedes, who by their large & vniust priuiledges granted by ambitious Popes for their ambitious and wicked seruices haue ouergone the whole religious orders of the Romane Church, inuading their Functions at their pleasure, as one may well see in that little Treatise which some few yeares agoe came out against them, called

Introductio

Introductio in aream Iesuiticam, wherein all their treacheries are perfectly expreſt.

CHAP. XIV.

A contemplation of the preſent condition of this Iſle of Great Britaine, by ſundry weighty points and worthy of conſideration for our better knowledge of this Time.

BVT finally of all the circumſtances of this preſent world, there is one which doth moſt moue me to think that this great Iubile of the reſtitutiō of the catholike Church doth approach, and that we be already entered into the prime of that new light. Firſt, there is now a mightie Monarch of the Proteſtant ſide, alike to whom, hath not been in any time, his Maieſtie of *Great Britaine*. Secondly, a Monarch of ſuch authoritie with all the Proteſtant States and Princes in matters of Religion, that they giue vnto him the Style of the *Great S^t. Auguſtine* to be *flagellum hæreticorum*. Thirdly, a Monarch of that rare learning accompanied with the true wiſdome of a temperate ſpirit, that euen the iudicious opponents except theſe who bee Ieſuitical, doe hold his Maieſtie the moſt ſufficient inſtrument to goe about and bring to paſſe a generall reformation, which points I will pray all thoſe that ſhall read this diſcourſe, to weigh in ſinceritie, as I ſhall compendiouſly ſet them downe for our edification, that wee may thankfully remarke the miraculous and mercifull dealing of God with our Age.

There hath euer been ſince the firſt Creation, two generations in the world, one of *Cain*, one of *Abel*; one of *Iſaac*, one of *Iſmael*; one of *Iacob*, one of *Eſau*; one of *Ioſeph*, one of his malicious brethren; one of *Dauid*, one of *Saul*; one of *Solomon*, one of *Abſolon*; one of *Simon Peter*, one of *Simon Magus* &c. A race of the iuſt,

and a race of the reprobate, making that admirable Antitheſis, wherevpon God doth hang the ballance of his glory ſwayed by his mercy to the one hand, and by his iuſtice to the other, this is the ſecret and hidden myſterie of Gods predeſtination in the gouernment of the world, *numero, pondere, & menſura*, as the Scripture ſaith: And becauſe the wicked as impetuous floudsdo ouerflow the world, and ouercome the Saints of God with multitude of wicked Princes and falſe Prophets, therefore the Lord doth oſtentimes, as the ſtorie of the Scripture declareth, raiſe vp both in Church and State ſome men of extraordinarie vertue and goodnes to preſerue the faithfull ſeed, which hath made the Pſalmiſt to ſay, *Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis ſuis*, the Lord is admirable in his Saints. In the firſt age of the originall Creation, he had his ſeruant *Enoch*, of whom it is ſaid, *Placuit Deo & tranſlatus eſt in Paradiſum*, hee pleaſed God and was tranſlated to Paradice. In the ſecond age of vniuerſall corruption, he had *Noah* to be the ſeminarie of the godly, of whom it is ſaid, *factus eſt reconciliatio*. In the third, which was the peculiar election of the Iewes, he had *Abraham*, of whom it is ſaid, *Et non inuentus eſt ſimilis ei qui conſeruaret legem excelſi*. In the fourth, which was his manifeſtation to be the God of Iſrael by the written Law, hee had his excellent *Moſes*, of whom it is written, *Dilectus Deo & hominibus Moſes cuius memoria in benedictione*. In the fiſt, which was the eſtabliſhment of the Iewiſh kingdom, he had his Prophet *Dauid*, whom himſelfe did honour with this teſtimonie, *Inueni hominem ſecundum cor meum*. In the ſixt, which was the propheticall illumination of the Synagogue, among greater numbers, he had in ſpeciall his *Eliah*, of whom it was ſaid, *Et quis poteſt ſimiliter gloriari tibi*. So in the ſeuenth, which was the falling of the Synagogue, hee had his great Prieſt *Simeon Onia*, of whom it is ſaid, *Quaſi ſignis effulgens, & quaſi thus redolens in igne, quaſi vas auri ſolidum ornatum lapide pretioſo*. Euen ſo in the later ages ſince the Goſpell, albeit things goe

Pſal: 67.

Eccl: 44.

ibid.

ibid.

Eccl: 45.

1. Kings 16.

Eccleſ. 45.

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not by cleare reuelation from heauen as then, becauſe propheticall actions be all finiſhed, and all Scriptures concluded in our Sauiour, yet by the like effects we obſerue one and the ſame working of God to maintaine the generation of the Iuſt, for looking vpon theſe famous Emperours, *Conſtantinus Magnus*, and *Carolus Magnus*, moſt deuoute and Chriſtian Princes, they reſemble *David* and *Solomon*, the firſt whereof eiected the Arrians, as *David* did the Nations. And the laſt is ſaid to haue ſetled the firſt meanes temporall of Chriſts Church, whereby they were more able to guard themſelues from barbarous perſecutions, as *Solomon* did build the Temple and houſe of the Lord.

Againe in Princely exaltations we doe obſerue this, that the Princes who bee called *Flagellum Dei*, and who be ſo indeed, ſuch as *Nimrod*, ſaid by the ſpirit of God to be a mighty hunter before the Lord, ſuch as the wicked kings of Iſrael, ſuch as the perſecuting Emperours, ſuch as *Tamberline* the Tartarian, ſuch as the formidable Ottomanicall Princes: Theſe I ſay, and all ſuch, the Lord God doth ſuffer to riſe vnnaturally, vnlawfully, in furie, a good Prince is a rare Iewel, like vnto the viſion of *Ezekiel*, where among ſixe deſtroying Angels, he ſaw but one man who had power of ſafety, becauſe the ſins of men doe merit oftentimes puniſhments, they come as fearefull tempeſts in the ayre, which ouerthrow the ſtrongeſt Oakes and moſt firme Towers, they come as impetuous inundations to ſpoyle and deſtroy, they doe all by violence, and nothing can pacifie their rage becauſe they are ſent to execute the wrath of God. Theſe Princes againe who come for the ſolace and ſafetie of people, ſent out in mercie, they riſe as it were in the ſweetneſſe of Nature, they come in peace and calmeneſſe, they ſhoot vp by gentle and lawfull meanes, & from humble beginnings they mount in patience to miraculous greatneſſe, *Moſes* and *David* from the ſheepe, *Nabuchadnezzar* whom the Lord called his owne ſeruant, he was a terrible

Prince misknowing God, oppressing his people *sub virga ferrea*, vnder a scepter of Iron, because he was sent by God in Iustice. *Cyrus* againe a meeke and temperate Prince, whose golden scepter brought comfort with it, because he was directed in mercie: So that it is easie to marke in Kings by their circumstances, what kind of Commissions they bring.

To come from this general contemplation to an Hypothesis, to consider the condition of our most gracious Soueraigne, whom the Lord hath sent in his mercie, to worke pacification and vnity in the hearts of Christian People, to be a Father of Peace, Piety, and Iustice, if we can rightly apprehend it, we shall find great reason to say also *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*: we shall find this blessed age in this Isle to be like vnto that whereof the Lord God did propheſie to *Abraham*. That in the fourth generation his posteritie should be restored from the bondage of Egypt, so farre, that one may imagine how the growing of this royall Monarch is not vnlike to that of the house of Israel, and how God hath ordained our Soueraigne King for seruices, not vnlike vnto those of *Moses*, as I will shortly shew, by conferring these circumstances following. First the pouertie, diuision, and constant vexation of this Isle vnder the Scots, the Picts, the Danes, the Saxons, the Brittaines, the English: doth it not well resemble the Egyptian bondage? Next our being obnoxious to much forraine ambition now practised by Fraunce, now by Spaine, now by Rome; during our Soueraigne his Minoritie, was it not a true seruitude of *Pharaoh*? Lastly our intestine contention for gouernment both in the Church and state these many yeeres past, before the Lord did exalt his horne, and place him vpon the throne of this stately Monarchie; were they not like the grudgings, and murmurations of the children of Israel in the wilderneſſe? The protection of God ouer the life of *Moses* was miraculous after his birth, when he was cast into the riuer, and what floods of dan-

Exod. 2.

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gers did fall out about the Natiuitie of his Maiestie, the Stories of our countrey can record. *Moses* was called from the sheepe to talke with God in mount Horeb, to receiue the mysteries of gouernment, and we may say his Maiestie, from humble fields, and dangerous beginnings hath ascended into the top of high gouernment, where the Lord as we see hath inspired him how to settle both Church and state. *Moses* was obstinate against the ambition of *Pharaoh*, and would not discontinue the working of his miracles and his instance to haue his people dismissed: and let vs sincerely and vprightly ponder what a miraculous constancie was it in his Maiestie, before his going into England, to bee so confident against the opposition of so many *Pharaohs*, who laboured to keepe his Maiestie still in Egypt, how many Spanish, Iesuiticall and strong machinations did he both contemne and frustrate, which were cunningly vrged before he did possesse that Crowne, and how many, euen of his Maiesties friends and good subiects, did hold his Highnesse both weake and impotent; thinking of his Maiestie that which *Moses* feared should be said of himselfe, Who am I that I should goe to *Pharaoh*, That who was his Maiestie without strong ey de to purchase so mighty a state. The hoste of *Pharaoh* was drowned in the red sea, while they sought to bring *Moses* into Egypt. And did not that proud *Armada* of the Spanish *Pharaoh* perish in his Maiesties seas, and in our eyes, while they intended to detaine him in Egypt? *Moses* was a man most painefull in his long and tedious voyage in the wildernesse, and what were a number of his Maiesties yeeres, but a wandering in the wilderney of our rebellion, & a languishing in the discords of our distemperate state, as we know; *Moses* was a man full of mansuetude, patience and affection to his people, notwithstanding their daily murmurations, whether God hath indued his Maiestie with such qualities, it is easily seene of those who please to remember, how many grieuances his Maiestie hath indured of

Exod. 3.

Exod. 6. 7.

some

some of his insolent subiects, in setling Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall Policie, and how many there be in Scotland, who be his Maiesties creatures, *Ex gratia*, holding their liues and estates of his clemencie. *Moses* was a man replenished with great wisedome, that God is said to haue taught him the secret Cabbale of vniuersall nature into the mountaine, and how his Maiestie doth meet that part, compared at least with the best knowledge of these times, I haue alreadie giuen you the testimonie of the world, so that it hath no need of mine: With this consideration of his Maiesties person, let vs also weigh aswell how he doth possesse as what he doth possesse in Dominion, and wee shall find indoubtable arguments to say, That the Lord God hath sent him in mercy & loue, by marks which are not to be seene in any Christian Prince in all the world beside; not onely to make of vs a mighty nation by erecting among vs a vertuous, and a prosperous Monarchie, but that he hath destinate him as he hath *Cyrus*, for the restitution of Ierusalem, for the peace and vnitie of his Church.

The antiquitie of the Crowne of Scotland in his Maiesties house, hath nothing comparable with it in Europe; And his Maiesty hath not bin of late more lawfully, and louingly installed in the state of England by his subiects, then the Originall stocke of his royall house King *Fergus* the first was about two thousand yeeres agoe, by our Predecessors called to the Crowne of Scotland, hee did not inuade it, or vsurpe it ouer Princes or people. And as the first Stone of his Maiesties Monarchicall foundation was thus laid naturally, in equitie and vertue, so hath it followed from that pure fountaine to this Ocean of lawfull Soueraignty, and grandrue which we see in a righteous line neuer yet interrupted by any destinie. God hath brought to passe in his Maiesties person the coniunction of weake and dismembred kingdomes, which neither length of time, nor the industry of watchfull and ambitious Princes, or nature it selfe could

performe

performe before his comming: that nature was not mature, before now to produce that great worke, I proue by the history of *Arthur* King of the Britannes: who being the illegitimate sonne of *Vterpendragon*, was by the force of popular affection aduanced to the Crowne, before the wife of *Loth* King of Pichtes, lawfull sister to the said *Vterpendragon*, and before her lawfull sonne *Moderet*, which competency after many debates was so transacted, that *Moderet* should succeed King *Arthur*; whereupon both *Loth* and *Moderet*, yeelded great aide to the Brittannes against the Saxons: And yet notwithstanding in the end, *Arthur* was constrained to declare *Constantine* a Brittan in defraude of *Moderet*, without any pretext of reason, other then neighbour indignation, because the people cryed, *Peregrini sanguinis Regem se nolle*, They would not a stranger in bloud should raigne ouer them: wherein they were so obstinate, that this wrongfull exclusion of *Moderet* was followed with the slaughter of *Arthur* and *Moderet* both in battell, and with the barborous murther of the children of *Moderet*, for the auoyding of strange claimes, as they held it: where we see that nature hath giuen an ouerture of this coniunction, but it could not worke, for *Moderet* was then neerer to the Crowne of England, nor his Maiesty now. To know againe how this Vnion hath beene contended for and vrged by puissant Kings and all in vaine, we may read the disputation of the royall competents of our Crowne betwixt *Bruce* and the *Baliol*, and the carriage of *Edward* the first of England in that processe, and the dealings of the English Kings with King *Dauid Bruce* the time of his restraint there. *Polyd. virg. lib. 8.*

Therefore the case of this great Prince is meerely extraordinary, not in fortune, but in Gods disposition. There is nothing in the world which doth so liuely beare the image of God, as a vertuous and temperate Christian Monarch: and therefore the Lord doth delight to expresse his power most in such a creature. He who in his

wrath raised *Assur*, and said vnto him, woe bee to thee *Assur* the rod of my fury: I will send thee to a dissembling Nation, that thou mayest tread them vnder thy foot, as mire: hee hath raised this prince in clemency and hath said of him, as he did of *Cyrus*, that he should set his people at liberty, both spirituall and temporall within his kingdome. Do we not see what strange changes the Lord hath already performed by him, as a holy and sanctified instrument. *Gothofred* of *Bullen*, hauing in the siege of Ierusalem, at one blowe cut in two the body of an armed man, and being demanded vpon the miracle of his strength: I carry said he, a hand that neuer did touch a whore, meaning it was rather a diuine then a naturall strength. Hath not the world seene in his Maiesty, a constant sanctity in that degree, which hath beene exceeded by none, equalled by few, and honored by the vniuersall admiration of all. For all which foresaid respects hath God rarely blessed his gouernment, and as he hath made this Isle in his happinesse, to be called great, so may she also most iustly be called fortunate, wee haue a tradition of the Fortunate Isles, that because of some sacred Nymphes do remaine there, the ground doeth yeeld her fruit without the labour or industry of man: What Isle in the world hath yeelded the like faire fruits of vertuous and stately prosperity, and all through being the seat of a sacred and sanctified King: what Isle, or what man hath seene a Prince, *Legentem tam opima spolia sine sanguine & sudore*, gathering so rich and costly spoyles without trouble, sweat, or paines. For while the Lord God hath brought to passe in his Maiesty, as wee haue seene things more then admirable, yet all hath beene done without noyse or tumult, without violence in any sort, that wee haue perceiued the Axle-tree of our gouernment changed, but heard no motion in the action: because this great Prince he commeth in peace and mercy, for a blessing and consolation of Gods people, and for the restitution of his

his Church. And who will looke into the wayes of his rising, euen through the light of nature and humanity, will thinke that his chiefest fortunes be yet before him. Since the raigne of *Ferdinand*, and *Isabell* of Arragon, wee haue seene within few yeeres the house of Spaine, growe vnto a great mountaine of dominion, and numbers of smaller states to conioyne themselues vnto it: wee haue seene how the Isle of France, which doth not exceed one dayes iourney about Paris, it is dilated into a most ample Kingdome, that as the thread of the Spanish sword, *calitus pendet*, begins to growe weake by naturall vicissitude, it must bee that the thred of Brittanne destiny, beginneth to spinne at length, and that order of the French Crowne, *Immensi tremor oceani*, is now so old and worne, that wee begin already to bee masters of the Ocean. And who will search the condition of this Prince supernaturally, shall thinke that God hath appointed him to bee a leader of Christian Potentates, to step vpon the disordered Theator of Christendome, to make an end of Christian Tragedies, to banish the contriuers of bloudy Counsels, to set vppe Actors of peace, to perswade, to vrge, and if need be to force generall Councells of the Church. To try whether the pretended *Aaron* hath forgotten himselfe and falne to the Idolatry of the golden Calfe, since his master ascended into the glorious mountaine, and so to reestablish Catholike vnitie.

These bee the sixe seuerall points wherein doth appeare, the approach of the reformation of Rome: First, her pride hath already come vnto the Tropicke, from whence it must of necessity turne downe againe: Secondly, the Christian Princes who bee within her owne bowels, begin to be wearied vnder the pressure of her yoake, two chiefe appearances why the monstrous fabricke of this tyranny is in danger to bee ransacked: Thirdly, you haue heard that the Spaniard, who is the strong *Atlas* that beares vp the same, can aboue any

Christian King, establish the assuredneſse of his affaires vpon the ruines thereof. Fourthly, all the orders of the Papall Clergy are bent to ouerthrow the Iesuites, who are the onely cunning craftsmen, who build and vphold this Babilonian tower. Fiftly, the meanes which God seemeth to put into the person of his Maiesty, our gracious Soueraigne, to sway the world to peace and vnity in Christian Religion, as well by the weight of his power, as by the vertue of his temperate wisedome and solid learning, which hath procured vnto his Maiestie authority, not onely with all Protestant people, but with the best of the Opponents. Sixtly, the absolute credit giuen vnto the primitiue Church, against which there is no side of Christian Clergy that taketh exception. All which things well considered, what I pray you is wanting heere to reforme the holy Church, but these two, *Courage* to vndertake it, and this one word from the mouth of God, *Benedicamus*.

And seeing the world pointeth at your Maiesty, as the onely man to whom that courage doeth belong; it compelleth mee to turne my speech vnto you, *O great and mighty Monarch*: As they haue seene how God hath made your Maiesty, like *Hercules*, able to ouercome the Gigantine forces of these Kingdomes, dispairefully discouered by inueterate and implacable emulations; placing your Maiesty in a triumphant Throne, ouer this fortunate Isle, that *Cyrus*-like your Maiesty hath your foot vpon the midst of the hyde, that no side thereof can reuolt, and hath giuen your Maiesty ample dominions without, and that in a miraculous sort, hauing no concurrance of humane helpe, making your Maiesty alone, both the Actor, and the Instrument: Therefore doe they looke that your Maiesty, should in like manner cry with *Cyrus*, *The Lord God of heauen hath giuen me the Kingdomes of the earth, and hath commanded mee to restore Ierusalem*, and to deliuer his people from captiuity, because they see how almighty God hath furnished your

your Maiesty with prudence and power, like armed *Pallas* to execute the same: your Maiesty hath hitherto well followed the example of the powerfull *Moses*, in this toilesome gouernment whereunto the Lord hath brought you, but the chiefest praise of *Moses* was his perseuerance, *non coronabitur nisi qui legitimè certauerit*, when hee came vp to the mountaine hee was commanded to put off his shooes, to shew plainely that hee might make himselfe light and able to walke, to shew figuratiuely that hee must shake off all fleshly desires and affections which burden our mindes, and pull them downeward from a familiar conuersation with God: O, what a laborious thing it is to come vnto this mount, the vallies bee rich, full of sensuall pleasures, and of easie passage, and therefore they are inhabited of the multitude of the world, the mountaines are steepe and precipitious, and it is hard to clime vp into them, and yet there it is where the Lord hath euer almost shewen himselfe, as mount Sinai, mount Horeb, mount Tabor, mount Oliuet, mount Caluarie, and diuers others declare, to signifie how difficult a thing it is to exalt our selues aboue the sensuality of the world, and how few are worthy to come into the familiar mount of God: onely *Iosuah* was found worthy to ascend with *Moses*, all the rest were commanded to remaine at the foote of the mountaine with *Aaron* and *Hur*, which made his charge to bee the greater, for not onely did God command him to come vp, but sayd the Lord, *ascende in montem & esto ibi*, Come vp, and see thou be there, by which words hee would stirre him vp from lazines to think, that he must not only be there, but be watchfull there, as it is sayd, *Non dicitur venisse qui non steterit*: who standeth straight in the mountaine, he seeth euerie thing which passeth by below him, but to him who wearieth and lieth himselfe down to repose, all the things which are vnder him be hidden, and if the enemies come to spoyle the vallies, he can neuer discouer it.

As your Maiestie hath beene most watchfull hi-

therto; So let your Highneſſe thinke that the worke of God doth but begin in you, and that he hath called your Ma: to come vp to the *Mount* not like a fainting *Eliah*, who in his voiage to the mountaine to talke with God, tired, or delighted with the beauty or freſhure of the tree, fell aſleepe vnder the Ginobre, but like vnto a vigilant *Moſes* who ſtood vpright fortie dayes in the Mountaine without refreſhment, not like vnto a timorous *Eliah* who was afrayd at the voyce of a woman, but ſtill like a couragious *Moſes*, who being of his owne nature the moſt milde among men, yet when he found the people in Idolatry of the Calfe at his returning from the Mount, he was enraged, and commanded the Leuites to be armed, and ſtood in the gates of the Campe till punishment was executed: Let your Maieſtie therefore haue watchfull eies to penetrate the latent things of your popular vallies, that no diſtemper grow among them which may renuerſe your Maieſties former cares. Doe ſpecially S^r. ouerwatch theſe two things: Firſt that this lurking *Gangrene* of pretended Puritaniſme doe ſpred no further, nor lie in waite to trouble the ſetled order of your Maieſties gouernment; But to the end your Maieſtie and your Royall poſterity may euer hit ſurely in that marke which your Maieſtie hath ſo long ſhot at, to reeſtabliſh into this Iſle the primitiue and orthodoxall policie of the Church: Imitate the skilfull Archer by chuſing your arrowes of that wood, which is moſt proper for your Maieſties aime, by receiuing into Epiſcopall dignities thoſe who bee moſt religious and ſincere, rather the beſt then the moſt learned, conſidering how many men in theſe daies doe carry Letters as *Vria* did, to cut his owne throat: like vnto thoſe vnhappy Carpenters who builded an Arke for the ſafety of *Noah* and his family while they themſelues did miſerably periſh in the flood: Since your Maieſtie hath now ſtore of men both of conſcience and learning who are reſolued enough in the Queſtion of the Church Policy let them ſee how

your

your Maiesty thinketh no man so worthy of the Episcopall chaire as he who commeth vnto it after the sort of that tradition which we haue of *Gregorius Magnus*, who being chosen for his meere vertue, was sayd to flie into the wildernes til he was discerned by a piller of fire which kithed aboue him; Let the light of their learning, their zeale & integrity of their life shining aboue them where they are, be their onely recommendations to Ecclesiasticall preferment, to the effect that your Maiestie may in that manner stoppe malignant mouthes, and take away all pretext of discontentment or disconformity, from these who say, that your Maiestie doth not preferre the vertuous. So that the treacherous Iesuite who like the crafty fish conueyeth himselfe into troubled waters, may want a couert to hide his head, which is the second thing that in all humility I beseech your Maiestie to haue your eyes on, remembring how as the crafty goose who flying along Mount Taurus carrieth a stone in her beake to restraine her cry that she bee not heard of the Eagles from the toppe thereof, as I haue told before; So hee can passe by your Maiesty with a closed mouth and masked face, he creepeth into your Maiesties Kingdome as the Serpent did into Paradice, to ouerturne the happinesse thereof. Looke but vpon the Tragicall examples of strong neighbour Princes, Remember that no Iesuite liueth who hath not that minde to your Maiesty, which *Cicero* had to *Octauius*, *Vnus puer & volubilis*; Let your Maiestie consider how one particular man of this great multitude, Doctor *Parsons* a vile excrement of his country of England, hath presumed himselfe sufficient to cut the line of the Royall succession, & to render the Estate Spanish, and hath so farre proceeded in that dismall designe, as to set downe out of his owne braine the lawes and policy of the new common wealth; the acts of the first Parliament as I haue sayd before, and hath put to the ports of England a mighty Armada to execute the same. What shall we then expect from multitudes hauing the

same

same inspiration, and gaping for the Spirit of this false prophet, if they bee suffered to practise your Maiesties subiects, or to frequent among them: Therfore Sr. consider what dangerous enchaunters they be, and let your Maiesty like a wise and constant *Vlysses* bee well tied to your *Maine Mast*, Christ Iesus, that no Syrens song may illude your Maesties perspicuous senses, in the meane time when the subtill Cyrce doth striue to bee your Master, so that your Maiestie may keepe your Kingdome vnited and firme like a Diamond, and couragiously proceede to greater seruice in Gods Church, to enterprize, this generall Reformation, whereof the world holdeth your Maiesty to be so worthy, which is *immensi præmium laboris*, the crowne and glorie of your Maiesties trauels, and which is so easie for your Maiesty, that when your Maiesties admonitory Epistle to Christian Princes came out against the Pope, wherein your Maiestie seemeth to appeale to the first 400. yeares of the Primitiue Church for Christian pacification, we know it who was then beyond Seas, that if it had not beene, because your Maiestie doth call the Pope Antichrist, shewing by that rather to bee an open Enemie to the Roman Church, then a Pacificatour, (as they sayd who tooke the aduantage of that word) otherwise your Maiesty might haue drawen vpon your side the whole Church of France, and the whole bodie of the Roman Church, other then Iesuites, and those who be poysoned with their *absit hæresis*, that we haue heard with our eares chiefe members of the Consistorie of Rome in contemplation of that busnesse, expresse with vnfained sighes their reuerence of the simplicitie of these times, that nothing is wanting to your Maiestie of meanes, if God shall blesse your Maiestie in this Mosaicall perseuerance, to negotiate, to vrge, to insist the present disposition of Christendom will so second your Maiesties beginnings, that certainly no opposition shall bee so great, which shall bee able to resist, for if any should bee, beside, the inuincible powers of supraline

estate,

Estates, who bee ready to march vnder your Maiesties Colours in that cause. Hath not God giuen to your Maiestie store of warlike men within the bowels of your owne Realmes? Hath he not prouided for you a braue and worthy *Iosua* to follow you into this mountaine, your Maiesties hopefull Successor, to whom your Ma may confidently say in the owne time, *Elige tibi viros fortes, & egressus, pugna contra Amalechitas.* The seeds of Numb: 17. whose most royall expectation, the Lord God of his mercy bring to such maturitie, that they may answer that which is vniuersally thought

——— *nou Romula quondam*
Vlla so tantum tellus iactauit Alumno.

That the highest Occident did neuer see a more glorious Orient. God of his goodnes strengthen the courage of his great Spirit with the same promise hee made to Iosua, *Noli timere quia tecum est Dominus Deus tuus, in omnibus ad quæcunque perrexeris*; Feare not, because the Lord God is with you in euery thing you take in hand.

For the next touching this one word from God, *Benedicamus*, what ought to be the true meanes of Christian concord, and how neere the possibilitie is to practise them, are both declared, but when the Lord shall pronounce a blessing vnto it, there is the mysterie; And yet it is no mysterie to know the cause why he doth not, euen as God was not found in the vehement tempest, in the rupture of the rocke, nor in the fire, sed *in sibilo auræ tenuis*, but in a soft ayre as is said. God cannot be found in commotion; vntill the time that both sides of Christian Clergy do cast off the shooes of their malicious curiosities, proud and ambitious emulation, thundering contentions, to walke vprightly in the mountaine of God, teaching people to begge from God in humilitie, and out of the gentle spirit of Christian loue, this peace of Ierusalem, it shall neuer be granted: but by the contrarie, if wee persist in our wicked contempt, God shall

make that vermine of the Turks, which haue consumed the garden of Ierusalem and all the Orientall Churches, to destroy vs also. And euen as the Lord did procrastinate and defer the entry of the people into the land of Canaan vntill their rebellious murmurations were spent, that of all the multitude which came from Egypt, onely *Caleb* and *Iosua* did enter. So shall he neuer neither blesse those cleare possibilities which are in the person of our excellent *Moses*, to lead vs to the tryumph of that Christian vnitie, vnto the time that either our murmurations or murmurers against him be finished.

Wherefore I exhort euery one out of the blessed spirit of peace and harmonie, you who are Papists chiefly, and you my LORD for whose seruice in speciall this Treatise is destinate, that your Lo will be content to acknowledge that obstinate and foolish superstitions are the danger of your Soule, the disgrace of your Noble Spirit, the discredit of your House, the extinctiō of your Honors, which are proper vnto your Lo: vnder your Soueraigne Prince, and the nullitie of all your faculties and actiue vertues in this Common-wealth, where you haue too great a place to be voyde, which things besides other perills that may ensue by many and weightie inducements to reformation.

If your Lo: cannot vpon the suddaine become enemie to the Church of Rome, so dearely beloued of you, and esteemed for your Mother, then like a kindly child compassionate her disease, helpe to couer her nakednes, and concurre to see her purged from her fornications, seeing it pleaseth God to offer such visible meanes to doe it, and in his owne time to send a gracious *Cyrus* for the furtherance of her restitution, do abhorre like a pest the poysoned counsells and courses of the Iesuites, the which I doe againe, and againe, assure you my Lord, doe tend to hold off *Cyrus*, and to bring against her an *Assur*, a rod of Gods wrath to tread her in the myre, and to bring capitall iudgements vpon all those within this kingdom

who

who hearken vnto their voice. And seeing your Lo: hath so good a King, whose bountie hath been great toward you, as you know, whose Blood Royall is the brightest Starre which you carrie in the frontispice of all your Honors, and whose sacred person you do so faithfully affect, whose wisdome and learning hath that reputation with the best of the Papall Clergie (as I haue related) that they could admit his Maiestie among the first of Iudges to pacifie Christian dissensions, if the Lord of his mercy should blesse this time with so happie a constellation. Therefore let your Lordship be pleased to obey the voyce of such a King, who doth enioyne you nothing contrary to holy Scripture. Be with his Maiestie in the purchase of this crowne of glory, which God hath laid before him to obtaine by his putting forwards of Catholike Vnitie, for the saferie of Christian Churches and people, from the barbarous invasions of the common enemie the Turke, you my Lord in speciall, whose speciall merit conioyned with the virtue of your renowned Auncestors, haue made you twice worthy to be next his Maiestie in places of publike seruice, do hearken vnto the voyce of so many good and worthy Subiects in the Land, who do heartily invite you to imbrace those Functions in the State, which God, nature, and your peculiar vertue haue allotted vnto you, to the furtherance of pietie and iustice in the Common-wealth. And to be briefe, I vse so, that you may be honoured in this life, and happie in the next, for your constant action of Christian vertues, which bee much surer meanes to strengthen a good Religion, then Cloysterall bigottrie or contemplation, in your Lo: person principally.

As much would I exhort those also, who either brooke in their hearts latent displeasure against the Church gouernment, or to whom the acceptation of these vsefull Ceremonies would bee distastefull, or who vnder colour of these, haue distracted hearts from the State, seeing the first is you know a most laudable resti-

tution of the ancient Catholike policie, and the second a point allowed for vnitie, not by the grosse and obscure rudiments of reformation, as you would say, by *Luther* and *Bucer*, but by *Zanchius* and others, who shined thereafter as perfect lights in the Church: We may be ashamed to bee contentious against such graue iudgements, and against the authoritie of a whole Nationall neighbour Church, whereof you are brethren, and which of all those in Christendome hath onely been reformed perfectly, by putting forth of all Idolatrie, and holding forth of all nouelrie. *Cato Vticensis*, because hee found no reason to obey the time, as hee thought, he would not liue but slew himselfe, although hee might haue possessed chiefe dignities vnder Cæsar. *Socrates* hauing in his choyce either to dye, or to be exiled, hee chuseth death, because said he, a man cast from his common wealth is no more a man. Is it not strange that you who hold your selfe an vpright Christian, yea and Pastor, that vpon sure and inquestionable points, or vpon trifling and indifferent Ceremonies, you will not onely refuse to conforme your selfe, but by the meanes of your separation you giue the opportunitie of seditious practises, both of forraine Infidiators and intestine malecontents, which is a cursed and bad part. That wee should embrace the name of Separists, to runne away and derelinquish that great Citie vpon the mountaine, called by the Prophets, *Ciuitas quæ fuit non derelicta*, that we should turne backe to Iudaize by clandestine Synagogues, and renounce that ample and famous Title of a true Christian Catholique. *Christianus mihi nomen, Catholicus cognomē*, said all the holy Fathers. We do refuse communion with the Church of Rome, and with the greatest part of those in Germanie, and if we should lye euer deuided from the heads and chiefest members of our owne bodie within this Kingdome, certainely, I know not what way to excuse such open delight of separation and singularitie, since the marke of Christian

profession

profession is to bee Catholicke and vniuersall. I know you will say the Saints of God are a handfull; true, but the Church of God is not so, it hath by exterior markes a large Communion and extent, and cannot bee griped in one hand or in two.

What is there, in reason, in nature, in Theology, which doth not teach vs this Communion and coniunction, the light of reason doth tell vs that, *Vis vnita fortior*. Things which be vnited are most strong; Nature doth shew to vs, that the dumbe Elements communicate qualities among thēselues, & that the most distant Climates of the earth haue mutual commerce, & beasts which do liue together within the precinct of our Isle, will be ordinarily of our societie: Theologie hath taught vs to beleeue it for an Article of our Creede, that their is a Communion of Saints: For the loue of this Communion betwixt man and Angel, and for the prosperitie of the kingdome of heauen, God did pardon *Adam*, and retreat his holy word, *Thou shalt die the death for sooth as thou dost eat of this*: And shall not wee remit one dramme of our presumpteous purity for our Christian Communion with our brethren of our Church (without the which this great Isle, our common mother, can neuer be truely fortunate nor the ports thereof surely closed against the plots and insidiation of our enemies) as if the whole efficacy of Christianity did consist in that one point of *Processe*, while as our good father Saint *Augustine* did comprise an hereticke vnder that word, *Agnoscant qui pretiosum, veniant ad fidem*, & did discriue an vpright Christian, by those three properties, *Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra Scripturas nemo Christianus, contra Ecclesiā nemo Catholicus*, That as a sober man, he must be subiect to reason, as a Christian man subiect to the Scriptures, and as a Catholike, subiect to the Church: The first of which three doth admonish vs all in generall, that (in any light of reason) if wee doe not sing one harmonie in the publike seruice of God, we are not (as good members of the Church should be)

ſtudious of her glory, nor (as good ſubiects of this kingdome ſhould bee) deſirous of its felicity: The ſecond doth admoniſh you who are an obſtinate Papiſt, that you are no true Chriſtian, who will not make the Scripture the infallible rule of your faith: The third doth admoniſh you who are a Stoicall and ſtiffe Puritane, that you are not a peaceable ſubiect, who doth contradict the authoritie of a ſetled and Orthodoxall Church.

Alwayes to you who doe hatch grudges for other Interims of the ſtate, ſuch as preſſure of Subſidies, or pretended pouertie of the time. I will ſay this, and if it haue no reaſon, I am content to ſing my *Palinodie*: The better and worſe condition of things earthly ſtandeth in compariſon; becauſe there is no perfect condition here, and the trueth of our pleaſures and diſpleaſures ſtandeth in the fortitude or weakeneſſe of our apprehenſion: therefore to know ſurely what a Prince, and what a ſtate wee haue, wee are to remember our ſelues what may bee in Princes, as they are Princes, and what alſo is commonly found in them and in their rule. What may be in a Soueraigne King, Looke to the holy Story of Sauls Creation: 1. Sam. 8. *Hee ſhall appoint your ſonnes for his Chariots, and for earing of his ground, hee ſhall take your daughters and make them Cookes, hee ſhall take your fields, vineyards, and beſt Olive trees, and giue them to his ſeruants, ſaith the Lord.* Out of this you ſhall truely obſerue what a ſtate it is you liue in, next to vnderſtand what oftentimes is in Princes, I might in this argument ſend you to contemplate the cruell domination of *Nero*, the exorbitant gouernement of *Caligula*, the auaricious raigne of *Galba*, the treacherous Empire of *Tiberius*, &c. But becauſe it hath no kind of *Decorum*, to bring thoſe in ballance with a moſt vertuous & moſt Chriſtian Monarch, I will wiſh you to call to memorie, what was your condition during the Ciuill calamities of your neighbour Countries, of France and of the Netherlands for a whole age, when vnder the ſhadow of your Princes winges you was couered from thoſe miſeries

miseries while you stood securely on the shore, and beheilde the troubled Ocean of those tempests, doe not you confesse that those countries have felt more afflictions in one moneth then wee in all our time; Or if his Maiestie by violent and vnlawfull ambition should bring such armies vpon our neckes, whither would you then make any great reckoning of a light Subsidie, or would you cry that his Maiesty should make a bridge of gold for your enemies to goe forth. Is there any marke of a Prince approued of God, and happie among men so infallible as to become a great Monarch by iust and peaceable meanes, as to enioy long and introubled tranquilitie; Is there any happinesse comparable with it? Besides the priuate ioyes which peace doth yeeld vnto vs, it is the nourse of good letters, and good policies, and of whatsoeuer is good. As for riches, it is true indeed that the accumulation of treasures is both lawfull and necessarie for Princes, because they are the Gardians of people and states: And *Pecunia est nervus Belli*, but speaking of subiects, remember when great Kings be most mechanicke there the people are most gouerned, *Sub virga ferrea*, whereof we haue seene examples enough not farre from our coastes. How is it then we should so lightly esteeme two such rare benefits of a constant peace, and of a glorious Monarchie reserued for many yeeres to be the most conspicuous blessing of this age: certainly peace is so heauenly and extraordinary a good, that the spirit of God hath allowed (we know) the Church to pray for Infidell and wicked Princes, that they might haue peace vnder them; seeing our peace then and prosperitie is matchlesse as no man can denie: it is wicked ingratitude in vs that we should not thanke God, and cry, *Quis poterit similiter gloriari nobis*, If it were not that our ignorance doth partly excuse our ingratitude, for how can he valew the sweetnesse of hony, who hath neuer tasted of tartnesse, and acerbitie, the lightnesse of his yoake, compared with the pride and insolence

lence of many great dominators, and the serenitie of his raigne, to speake so, hath bene without any intermission, that how could you know what a thing is the waight and austerity of domination, and if it should not be that our owne follies and euill gouernment should breede vnto vs more discontents and aggrauations then the misgouernment of the state doth, we were apparantly the most fortunate subiects vnder the sunne.

And if any should grudge in the court, I will speake thus farre vnto you, (with humble reuerence, because you are the most excellent Creatures) that of all the grudges which be within the kingdome that is most pernitious, such a malignant and proud spirit, made *Lucifer* to be put to the doore, when the court of Heauen was first established, hee is not worthy to liue at a Princes elbow, who knowes not that as godly and Orthodoxall Kings beare the liuely image of God vpon earth, so their Courts must resemble the seat of God in the heauens, repleniſhed with innocent Maiestie, vertuous glory, noble and actiue creatures, subiect to perpetuall sympathie and loue, tranquilitie, obedience, and order; you haue the place of the Spheares, which are neereſt vnto God.

Imaq; telluris ventos trallucid, coruscos
Nimborum accipiunt, nubes exedit Olympus,
Pacem summa tenent.

So should you be free of those clouds which are bred in the inferiour ayre of popular distemper and discontentments; yea by your serenitie and secret influence you should purge them, and make the multitude to admire the close harmonie of the Court; euen as wee are astonished to behold the silent murmure, and musicke of these celestiall orbes which are aboue the troublesome elements. The Lord God hath not found it good to make all his Creatures equally capable of his graces, the Angels are not of like degree, yet all of them take

take saciety of Gods countenance, the inferiour Planets haue not bodies sufficient to containe the whole splendor of the Sunne, yet they are all saciate of light, to illuminate their owne spheares. God did vouchsafe vnto *Miriam* a prophetical spirit, but not in that measure as he did to *Moses*, therefore she was strucken with leprosie for her grudging: remember that if the sunne shine of his Maiesties bounty, bee removed from you for your murmuring, you should bee plagued with a sort of Leprosies to descend againe into the inferiour world, carrying in your faces the visible impressions of consuming and contemptible enuy: shall the potsheard say to the Potter, what dost thou make? certainely no: And you who may happen to be principall Planet of the Court, or first moouer of the Courtly spheares, if it should please you to learne the right lesson of your motion in the common schoole of Nature, it should hardly fall forth to you to become an errant Planet: wherfore hath the Lord God made the huge bosom of the great Ocean to be so spacious and receptible of waters, not that shee should acquiesce in her selfe, and bee delighted in the largenesse of her fountaines, but that by secret channells shee should continually communicate the vse thereof to those riuers, which bee appointed to water the earth, and as a common seruant in the house of Nature, render to the Sunne her ordinary moystures, to furnish raine for the fruites of the earth; wherefore hath God planted this glorious Lampe in the Sunne, not that he should pride himselfe in his owne splendour, for that was a Luciferian tricke; but that hee should illustrate and beautifie inferiour Planets, and that hee should minister life and light to other creatures: Doeth not your courtly witted *Tacitus* tell you, that euen the best Princes are iealous of Soueraigne points, if any striue to keepe a constant eclipse vpon a Kings face, that it may not shine vniuersally, drawing the whole reflexe vpon himselfe, hee saith it is *arcanum imperij* a mystery

of the Maiesty. It is the fault of *Prothemeus*, to steale the sacred and royall light, to participate of the Maiesty, & becom guilty of a Soueraigne point, it is to eate of the forbidden Tree, seeking to be like vnto God: who as in one Vniuerse, he is only one Center, vnto the which the end of all motions and the glory of all actions doe returne: so is a King in one state a only one Center, wherin the whole weight and praise of gouernment doth rest. So that you who doe abuse the diuine bounty, which shineth in some rare good Princes, you become (as the same *Tacitus* saith) *Fœdum mancipium & malis artibus ambitiosum*, a sordide slaue of Ambition, yee doe snare your selfe into the wicked arts of the same to your ignominious ouerthrow, and to the eternall testimony of royall piety and iustice in him who doth punish you for it. Therefore as his Maiesty, our gracious Soueraigne, hath beene the first happy Prince in the world, by his wise and skilfull creation of those, whom hee hath preferred to the chiefe dignities of his fauour, witnessed by their great seruice to the State, of whom many be gone, and numbers yet doe liue through his Maiesties dominions: so let you onely contend among your selues for that Angelicall happinesse, to flye the wicked spirit of proud emulation, that you on the one side may detest that vnnaturall and monstrous enuy of the brethren of *Ioseph*, among the soones of one family, and he on the other, who among his brethren findeth himselfe beloued of his father, doe not abuse himselfe with the dreames of *Ioseph*, vnlesse he haue also his propheticall spirit.

Tis a fearefull thing to consider, how ingrate and rebellious people doe oftentimes constraine good Princes to offend against God, and procure his iudgements, both against their Princes and against themselues, whereof we haue that terrible example of the punishment of *Moses*, for the murmuration of Israel at the waters of contradiction, therefore that it should not befall vnto vs as

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it did vnto them; that the Lord doe not take from vs our great Captaine: Let vs no more murmure nor grudge, but seeing we see his Oracles haue hitherto been from God, and that the Lord hath said to him as hee said to *Moses*, *Feare not I shall be with thee*, which our conscience wil confesse if we examine our selues, how many times we haue seen the Lord miraculously vpon his side, Let vs with *Zanchius* say, who are we to oppose our selues against such Lawes, as he hath alredy established, or may hereafter doe by the authority of a setled Church, and well gouerned estate. Let vs acknowledge both Papist, Puritan, and Protestant, the reuealed mystery of this time wherein wee are, and reuerence this great Instrument of God who hath opened the seale thereof, and vnder whom wee are come from Egyptian bondage, to be a great and mighty Nation. Let vs honour this Orient light which doth arise with him after so long eclipse, both in the Church, and in the Common-wealth; that being confirmed and strong by intestine vnion, we may by the force of vnited mindes aspire to that Christian ambition to be led vnder our excellent *Moses*, or *Iosua*, to that ioyfull *Iubile*, of the Catholike harmony of Christendome, and to eiect those detestable and vile Amalakites of the Turkish race, that making so our way into the Land of Holinesse, wee may all cry in one voyce as the Prophet foretold of latter times, *Venite ascendamus in montem Domini*, Come brethren let vs ascend together into the mount of the Lord, which is the onely scope of an vpright Christian, *Amen*.

Now hauing treated thus farre for the glory of God and edification of his Church, I will craue your pardon who are a discreete Reader to speake two words for the iustification of my voyage to Rome. The credit wherof hath beene so miserably dilacerate by some Papists, who say that I went thither expressely *per fare la spia*, to play the spie, that I receiued the Popes money and payd him backe with false measure at my returning homeward.

And I affirme in this *foro publico* contrary to these that I went to Rome out of meere zeale to the Papall Religion: that I should not proue ingrate to so great a personage, as the Pope, I confesse to haue beene beholding to his humane and courteous behauiour towards mee during my residence within his dominions: And to the true affection of some few of his Cardinals, and certaine other chiefe persons, in whose manners (to speake ingenuously and Christianly) I did see nothing, but vertuous conuersation, much zealous mention of the Primitiue simplicity of the Church, great remorse for her present diuisions, and many hearty wishes, that it would please God, to make his Maiestie of Great Britain another *Constantine*, and to blesse their daies with Christian peace and vnity: But I affirme that I did neuer receiue any money nor benefit whatsoeuer of the Pope, of his Cardinals, Iesuites, or any other persons whatsoeuer within the Romane Church, except in medals, beades, *Agnus Deies*, Indulgences, and such childish toyes and trash, whereof I made small accompt euen then, much lesse now: I affirme that I did neuer wrong the Pope nor any Papist whosoeuer, except this be wrong, *Quod munus donaos & dona ferentes*, that is to say, that being Papist my selfe, I was (as diuers were of my Countrey men professed religious in the Romane Church beyond seas) contrarious to the alluring Iesuist, because I knew him to be Enemie to my Soueraigne King and Country, and except by my renuntiation now of his Idolatrous religion: Further I affirme that I might haue pursed the Popes money and would not: And I sweare by that blessed Trinitie, whose countenance I hope in the merit of my Redeemer to enioy, that all these my foresayd affirmations are sincere and true: And what one among a number of you, who haue so prodigally and vniustly spent my Reputation, is able to make the like Apologie for himselfe, that hee hath neither receiued nor refused that hostile money, vnlesse he will betake himselfe vnto

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his lessons of Æquiuocation. What came to my knowledge of the deuises of those who seeke the destruction of this Kingdome, whereof I am a member, or of the counsels againe of such as were knowen to bee faithfull frinds and fautours of the same, all that I did most sincerely relate by his Maiesties appointment vnto the first watchmen of the State vnder his Maiesties selfe, & all tending to this same end whereunto this present discourse is directed, that is, to the assuring of his Maiesties Crowne from the treacherous craft of the Iesuite, for a testimony wherof & of my most humble and loyall affection to the seruice of his Maiesty, and of the common-weale, I had the good lucke to haue a hand in the comming of Monsieur *Casaubon* to his Maiesties seruice where hee dyed. Which being so, I must haue a bout with you who haue so liberally calumniated mee, I would to God that you your selfe could in these errands prooue *adeo potens aduersus Pecuniam*, that you may keepe your owne hands as free from Spanish, Papall, or Iesuiticall gold. I would to God you knew as well as I doe what it is to conuerse with a Iesuit, and to be defiled with his serpentine breath: Seeing there is no Iesuite liuing doth not in his heart approue that Diabolical plot & machination of the *Powder Treason*, what do you thinke of your selues who are their Disciples, who receiue them in your houses and hearken vnto their insinuations, are you not a thousand to one a more dangerous Citizen here then *Catoline* was at Rome who was declared *hostis Patriæ*, because hee did practise the change of a ciuill state, you practise first against the person and life of our Soueraigne Prince; next against the stability of his royall Succession and Crowne; thirdly against the peace & felicitie of your countries Fourthly, against the famous antiquitie and naturall liberties of the same. Fiftlie, against the good of euerie particular Subiect of his Maiesties, who is not of your lawlesse league. Lastlie, you practise to remooue the Candlestick of the word of God; and to erect in the place ther-

of the darkneſſe of ſuperſtition, ſtriuing to deliuer vs all, both Prince, Subiects and Country, ſlaues to the Gallies of Papall pride. Theſe are your practiſes who do frequent the Ieſuiſt, in regard wherof what ſtile ſhall I giue you; are you not indeed the chaffe among the corn, the noiſome cockle among the wheat, the cankering vermin among the hearbs, the filthie weeds among flowers, the moth among roabs, a coale in your Princes boſome, a gnawing worme in the bowels of this Kingdom, a contagions member of the Common-wealth, a theefe in the houſe, a fearefull Sanguiſuga thirſting after the natiue bloold of your owne Country-men, becauſe you haue drunken of that burning and deadlie poiſon of the Ieſuiticall wormewood, which is neuer quenched but with the bloud of Legions. The Lord God of his infinit goodneſſe inſpire in you the liuely aire of his holy Spirit to purge your hearts from theſe peſtiferous humors, & once open your eies to behold the ſplendent light, ſo much contemned by you, that you may ſee your owne perils, and the perillous condition of Chriſts Church: That your ſoules may at laſt languiſh for a generall reſtitution of ancient primitiue ſimplicitie, that you may reuerence all the meanes which lead thereunto, To the effect that by our mutuall honoring of Antiquitie, we may alſo be honoured of our Succeſſors, and ſaid of them to bee a happie age of Chriſtian Reformation.

FINIS.

